

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 08179652 0

The

93 -

Gordon Lester Ford
Collection

Presented by his Sons

Worthington Chauncey Ford

and

Paul Leicester Ford

to the

New York Public Library.

(Speeches)
L. F.

THE
SPEECHES,
ADDRESSES AND MESSAGES,
OF THE SEVERAL

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES,

AT THE OPENINGS OF CONGRESS AND AT THEIR RESPECTIVE
INAUGURATIONS.

ALSO, THE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND
WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS
TO HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS.

EMBRACING AN OFFICIAL SUMMARY OF THE NATIONAL EVENTS OF THE
FIRST HALF CENTURY OF THE UNION.

EMBELLISHED WITH MINIATURE LIKENESSES OF THE PRESIDENTS,
AND FAC SIMILIES OF THE SAGES OF THE REVOLUTION,
SIGNERS TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY ROBERT DESILVER, NO. 110, WALNUT-STREET.

.....

THOMAS TOWN, PRINTER.

1825.

Check
May 1825

(Speeches
1777)

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
155863
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1899.

CONTENTS.

	<i>page.</i>
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,	1
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,	7
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON's Inaugural Speech,	
April 6, 1789,	29
..... Speech at opening Congress, Jan. 8, '90,	34
..... Dec. 8, '90,	38
Oct. 25, '91,	43
Nov. 6, '92,	52
Dec. 3, '93,	59
Nov. 19, '94,	66
Dec. 8, '95,	76
Dec. 7, '96,	84
FAREWELL ADDRESS to the people of the	
United States, Sep. 17, '96,	94
PRESIDENT ADAMS' Inaugural Speech, March 4, '97,	116
..... Speech at opening Congress, Nov. 23, '97,	135
..... Dec. 8, '98,	142
Dec. 3, '99,	150
Nov. 22, 1800,	156
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON's Inaugural Address,	
March 4, 1801,	161
..... Message at opening Congress, Dec. 8, 1801,	167
..... Dec. 15, 1802,	178
Oct. 17, 1803,	186
Nov. 8, 1804,	194
Inaugural Address, March 4, 1805,	202
Message at opening Congress, Dec. 3, 1805,	210
..... Dec. 2, 1806,	220
Oct. 27, 1807,	230
Nov. 8, 1808,	239

	<i>page.</i>
PRESIDENT MADISON's Inaugural Address,	
March 4, 1809,	249
.....Message at opening Congress, May 23, 1809,	254
.....Nov. 29, 1809,	259
Dec. 5, 1810,	266
Nov. 5, 1811,	275
Nov. 4, 1812,	284
Inaugural Address, March 4, 1813,	296
Message at opening Congress, Dec. 7, 1813,	301
.....Sep. 20, 1814,	313
Message to Congress, Feb. 18, 1815,	321
Message at opening Congress, Dec. 5, 1815,	324
Dec. 3, 1816,	336
PRESIDENT MONROE's Inaugural Address, March 4, 1817,	348
.....Message at opening Congress, Dec. 2, 1817,	360
.....Nov. 17, 1818,	376
Dec. 7, 1819,	392
Nov. 14, 1820,	408
Inaugural Address, March 4, 1821,	421
Message at opening Congress, Dec. 3, 1821,	437
.....Dec. 3, 1822,	458
Dec. 2, 1823,	475
Dec. 7, 1824,	498
PRESIDENT JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' Inaugural Address,	
March 4, 1825,	527

THE DECLARATION
OF
INDEPENDENCE.

PUBLISHED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

JULY 4th, 1776.

“ WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing, invariably, the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government—The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained ; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses, repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise ; the State remaining in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose ; obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others, to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws, for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our Legislature.

He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punish-

ment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.—

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.—

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.—

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences.—

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :—

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a Free People.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts made by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

“WE, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, Do, in the name and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States.....That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and

that all political connexion, between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

The following Signatures are correct fac similies of the Honourable Members of Congress, who signed the foregoing Declaration.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

John Hancock

Massachusetts

Sam^r Adams

John Adams

Rob^t Treat Paine

Elbridge Gerry

Josiah Bartlett

New Hampshire

W^m Whipple

Matthew Thornton

Step^r Hopkins

Rhode Island &c

William Ellery

Roger Sherman

Connecticut

Sam^l Huntington

W^m Williams

Oliver Wolcott

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

W. Lloyd

New York

Phil. Livingston

"

Franc. Lewis

"

Lewis Morris

"

Ruh. Stockton

New Jersey

Jno Witherspoole

"

Thos. Hopkinson

"

John Hart

"

Abra Clark

"

Robt Morris

Pennsylvania

Benjamin Rush

"

Benf. Franklin

"

John Morton

"

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Geofflymer

Pennsylvania

Ja. Smith

"

Geo. Taylor

"

James Wilson

"

Geo. Ross

"

Cesar Rodney

Delaware

Geo. Read

"

Tho. M. Kear

"

Samuel Chase

Maryland

Wm. Paca

"

Tho. Stone

"

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

"

George Wythe

Virginia

Richard Henry Lee

"

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Th. Jefferson

Virginia

Benj. Harrison

"

Thos Nelson jr.

"

Francis Lightfoot Lee

"

Carter Braxton

"

Wm Hooper

North Carolina

Joseph Hewes

"

John Penn

"

Edward Rutledge

South Carolina

Thos. Heyward Junr.

"

Thomas Lynch Junr.

"

Arthur Middleton

"

Button Gwinnett

Georgia

Lyman Hall

"

Geo Walton

"



THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Framed by a Convention of Deputies from twelve States,
at a Session begun May 25, and ended Sep. 17, 1787.*

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

ALL Legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

I. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several States: and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

II. No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a Citizen of the United States; and who

shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

III. Representatives and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states, which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States; and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand: but each state shall have at least one representative: and, until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North-Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

IV. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

V. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

I. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

II. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year. And if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

III. No person shall be a Senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States; and who shall not, when elected be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

IV. The Vice-president of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

V. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore in the absence of the Vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

VI. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

VII. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or

profit, under the United States. But the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECTION IV.

I. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State, by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

II. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

I. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

II. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behaviour; and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

III. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time, publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays, of the members of either House on any question, shall at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

IV. Neither House during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more

than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

I. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same: for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

II. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority, of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House, during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

I. All bills for raising revenue, shall originate in the House of Representatives: but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

II. Every bill, which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign it: but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree

to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But, in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner, as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

III. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives, may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power—

I. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States: but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.

II. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

III. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

IV. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States.

V. To coin money ; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin ; and fix the standard of weights and measures.

VI. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

VII. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

VIII. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

IX. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.

X. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

XI. To declare war ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

XII. To raise and support armies. But no appropriation of money to that use, shall be for a longer term than two years.

XIII. To provide and maintain a navy.

XIV. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

XV. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

XVI. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, re-

serving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

XVII. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by session of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of government of the United States ; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and

XVIII. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

I. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

II. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

III. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

IV. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

V. No tax or duties shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State, over those of another ; nor shall vessels, bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.


VI. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

VII. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States ; and no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign State.

SECTION X.

I. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

II. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in

time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. 

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

I. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

II. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. But no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

III. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each: which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have

an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States; and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-president.

IV. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

V. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President. Neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

VI. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-president; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-president; declaring what officer shall then act as President; and

such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

VII. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected: and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

VIII. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II.

I. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States. He may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons, for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

II. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be

established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

III. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union; and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors, and and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time ordain and establish.

The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour ; and shall at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

I. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party, to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

II. In all cases, affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

III. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places, as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

I. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

II. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture; except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given, in each State, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

I. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

II. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

III. No person, held to the service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall,

in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.

I. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States—without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

II. The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union, a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments; which, in either case,

shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress. Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

I. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

II. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall

be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hercunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT,
and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire.

John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.

Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

Connecticut.

William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

New-York.

Alexander Hamilton.

New-Jersey.

William Livingston,
David Brearly,
William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware.

George Reed,
Gunning Bedford, jun.
John Dickinson,
Richard Basset,
Jacob Broom.

Maryland.

James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

Virginia.

John Blair,
James Madison, jun.

North Carolina.

William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina.

John Rutledge,
Charles C. Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

Georgia.

William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest,

WILLIAM JACKSON, SECRETARY.

AMENDMENTS.

The following articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States, having been ratified by the Legislatures of nine States, are equally obligatory with the Constitution itself.

ART. I. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

II. No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and representatives shall take effect, until, an election of representatives shall have intervened.

III. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

IV. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

V. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

VI. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war, or public danger: nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

VIII. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

IX. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

X. Excessive bail shall not be required ; nor excessive fines imposed ; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

XI. The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

XII. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

XIII. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

XIV. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-president, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves ; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate ; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted, the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the

list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members, from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-president shall act as President as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-president, shall be Vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-president ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person Constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-president of the United States.

XV. If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour ; or shall without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit, under them or either of them.

SPEECHES

OF THE

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

AT A Meeting of both Houses of Congress, April 6, 1789, the votes for the President of the United States being counted, General **GEORGE WASHINGTON** was unanimously elected. And, April 30, 1789, his excellency delivered the following

INAUGURAL SPEECH.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and
of the House of Representatives.

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month: on the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years, a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand the magnitude

and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe,—who presides in the councils of nations,—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes : and may enable every instrument, employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great author of every public and

54

private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means, by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with a humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflexions, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular mea-

tures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices, or attachments, no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained: and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present

juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons, of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave ; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness ; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JAN. 8, 1790.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,

I EMBRACE with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself, of congratulating you on the present favourable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important State of North Carolina to the Constitution of the United States, (of which official information has been received) the rising credit and respectability of our country, and the general increasing good-will towards the government of the Union, and the concord, peace and plenty, with which we are blessed, are circum-

stances, auspicious, in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good, you cannot but derive encouragement from the reflection, that the measures of the last session, have been as satisfactory to your constituents, as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations, and to secure the blessings which a gracious providence has placed within our reach, will in the course of the present important session, call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects, which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence, will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined ; to which end, a uniform and well digested plan is requisite : And their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent on others, for essential, particularly, for military supplies.

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable, will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers, with a due regard to economy.

There was reason to hope, that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, would have relieved the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers from their depredations. But you will

perceive, from the information contained in the papers which I shall direct to be laid before you (comprehending a communication from the commonwealth of Virginia) that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union ; and if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interest of the United States requires, that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfil my duty in that respect in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good : And to this end that the compensations to be made to the persons, who may be employed, should according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law ; and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens, should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights and measures of the United States, is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you, the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home ; and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country, by a due attention to the post office and post roads.

Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve

your patronage, than the promotion of science and literature Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways ; By convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people ; and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights ; to discern and provide against invasions of them ; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority ; between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society ; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy, but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I saw with peculiar pleasure, at the close of the last session, the resolution entered into by you, expressive of your opinion, that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit, is a matter of high importance to the national honour and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur. And to a perfect confidence in your best endeavours to devise such a provision as will be truly

consistent with the end, I add an equal reliance on the cheerful co-operation of the other branch of the legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure in which the character and permanent interests of the United States are so obviously and so deeply concerned, and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—I have directed the proper officers to lay before you respectively, such papers and estimates as regard the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union, which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed. And I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation with you, in the pleasing, though arduous task of ensuring to our fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient and equal government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 8, 1790.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,

IN meeting you again, I feel much satisfaction in being able to repeat my congratulations on the favourable prospects which continue to distinguish our public affairs. The abundant fruits of another year have blessed our

country with plenty, and with the means of a flourishing commerce. The progress of public credit is witnessed by a considerable rise of American stock abroad as well as at home. And the revenues allotted for this and other national purposes, have been productive beyond the calculations by which they were regulated. This latter circumstance is the more pleasing, as it is not only a proof of the fertility of our resources, but as it assures us of a further increase of the national respectability and credit; and let me add, as it bears an honourable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine part of our citizens. The punctuality of the former in discharging their engagements has been exemplary.

In conforming to the powers vested in me by acts of the last session, a loan of three millions of florins, towards which some provisional measures had previously taken place, has been completed in Holland. As well the celerity with which it has been filled, as the nature of the terms (considering the more than ordinary demand for borrowing created by the situation of Europe) give a reasonable hope, that the further execution of those powers may proceed with advantage and success. The secretary of the treasury has my direction to communicate such further particulars as may be requisite for more precise information.

Since your last sessions, I have received communications, by which it appears that the district of Kentucky, at present a part of Virginia, has concurred in certain propositions contained in a law of that State, in consequence of which the district is to become a distinct member of the Union, in case the requisite sanction of Congress be added. For this sanction application is now made. I shall cause the papers on this very important

transaction to be laid before you. The liberality and harmony with which it has been conducted, will be found to do great honor to both the parties. And the sentiments of warm attachment to the Union, and its present government, expressed by our fellow citizens of Kentucky, cannot fail to add an affectionate concern for their particular welfare, to the great national impressions under which you will decide on the case submitted to you.

It has been heretofore known to Congress, that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians, from the north-west side of the Ohio. These, with some of the tribes dwelling on and near the Wabash, have of late been particularly active in their depredations; and being emboldened by the impunity of their crimes, and aided by such parts of the neighbouring tribes as could be seduced to join in their hostilities, or afford them a retreat for their prisoners and plunder, they have, instead of listening to the humane invitations and overtures made on the part of the United States renewed their violence with fresh alacrity and greater effect. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances peculiarly shocking; whilst others have been carried into a deplorable captivity.

These aggravated provocations rendered it essential to the safety of the western settlements, that the aggressors should be made sensible that the government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes, than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act which empowers the President to call out the militia for the protection of the frontiers. And I have accordingly

authorized an expedition, in which the regular troops in that quarter are combined with such draughts of militia as were deemed sufficient. The event of the measure is yet unknown to me. The Secretary of War is directed to lay before you a statement of the information on which it is founded, as well as an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended.

The disturbed situation of Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us the more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time, of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings. It requires also that we should not overlook the tendency of a war, and even of preparations for a war, among the nations most concerned in active commerce with this country, to abridge the means, and thereby at least enhance the price of transporting its valuable productions to their proper markets. I recommend it to your serious reflections, how far, and in what mode, it may be expedient to guard against embarrassments from these contingencies, by such encouragements to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms, which may fail us in the very moment most interesting to both of these great objects. Our fisheries, and the transportation of our own produce, offer us abundant means for guarding ourselves against this evil.

Your attention seems to be not less due to that particular branch of our trade which belongs to the Mediterranean. So many circumstances unite in rendering the present state of it distressful to us, that you will not think any deliberations misemployed which may lead to its relief and protection.

The laws you have already passed for the establishment of a judiciary system, have opened the doors of justice to all descriptions of persons. You will consider in your wisdom, whether improvements in that system may yet be made; and particularly, whether an uniform process of execution on sentences issuing from the federal courts be not desirable through all the States.

The patronage of our commerce, of our merchants and seamen, has called for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. It seems expedient to regulate by law the exercise of that jurisdiction, and those functions which are permitted them, either by express convention, or by a friendly indulgence in the places of their residence. The Consular Convention too with his Most Christian Majesty, has stipulated, in certain cases, the aid of the national authority to his consuls established here. Some legislative provision is requisite to carry these stipulations into full effect.

The establishment of the militia, of a mint, of standards of weights and measures, of the post office and post roads, are subjects which (I presume) you will resume of course, and which are abundantly urged by their own importance.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The sufficiency of the revenues you have established, for the objects to which they are appropriated, leaves no doubt but the residuary provisions will be commensurate to the other objects, for which the public faith stands now pledged. Allow me, moreover, to hope, that it will be a favourite policy with you, not merely to secure a payment of the interest of the debt funded, but as far and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself. The appropriations

you have made of the western lands, explain your dispositions on this subject: and I am persuaded, that the sooner that valuable fund can be made to contribute, along with other means, to the actual reduction of the public debt, the more salutary will the measure be to every public interest, as well as the more satisfactory to our constituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—In pursuing the various and weighty business of the present session, I indulge the fullest persuasion, that your consultations will be equally marked with wisdom, and animated by the love of your country. In whatever belongs to my duty you shall have all the co-operation which an undiminished zeal for its welfare can inspire. It will be happy for us both, and our best reward, if, by a successful administration of our respective trusts, we can make the established government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, OCT. 25, 1791.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,

I MEET you, upon the present occasion, with the feelings which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country, and

by a persuasion equally strong, that the labours of the session which has just commenced, will, under the guidance of a spirit, no less prudent than patriotic, issue in measures conducive to the stability and increase of national prosperity.

Numerous as are the providential blessings which demand our grateful acknowledgments, the abundance with which another year has again rewarded the industry of the husbandman is too important to escape recollection.

Your own observations, in your respective situations, will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation: in tracing their causes, you will have remarked with particular pleasure, the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed. And you will have observed, with no less interest, new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheless, cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the confirmation of these circumstances, which will be disclosed in the several official communications that will be made to you in the course of your deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the bank of the United States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed, in a single day, is among the striking and pleasing evidences which present themselves not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.

In the interval of your recess, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects which were specially provided for by the laws and resolutions of the last session.

Among the most important of these is the defence and security of the western frontiers. To accomplish it on the most humane principles, was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time that treaties have been provisionally concluded, and other proper means used to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendship the well-disposed tribes of Indians, effectual measures have been adopted to make those of a hostile description sensible, that a pacification was desired upon terms of moderation and justice.

These measures having proved unsuccessful, it became necessary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations; offensive operations have therefore been directed; to be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The expeditions which have been completed, were carried on under the authority, and at the expense of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky; whose enterprise, intrepidity, and good conduct, are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion, in future, may cease, and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this it seems necessary—That they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice—That the mode of alienating their lands the main

source of discontent and war, should be so defined, and regulated, as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made—That commerce with them should be promoted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made for imparting to them the blessings of civilization, as may from time to time, suit their condition—That the executive of the United States should be enabled to employ the means to which the Indians have been long accustomed for uniting their immediate interest with the preservation of peace—And, that efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those, who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties, and endanger the peace of the Union.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act, laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the subdivisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment in the rates of compensation as would conciliate a reasonable competency, with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped that the circumspection which has been used

will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects; but it is probable, that with a view to the first, in some instances a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impression with which this law has been received by the community, have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well disposed citizens, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion in particular places to some degree of discontent. But it is satisfactory to know, that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence, that it will, in all, give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty, and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances in the law, which consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundations of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed, and announced by proclamation; which district will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Po-

tomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. A city has also been laid out agreeably to a plan which will be placed before Congress; and as there is a prospect favoured by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary public buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by law, has been duly notified, (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal; and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried) and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and an half of florins has been completed in Holland; the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six millions of florins had been set on foot, under circumstances that assured an immediate completion.

Gentlemen of the Senate,—Two treaties which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and Six Nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—In entering upon the discharge of your legislative trust, you must anticipate with pleasure that many of the difficulties necessarily incident to the first arrangement of a new government, for an extensive country, have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of

your predecessors in co-operation with the other branch of the Legislature. The important objects which remain to be accomplished, will, I am persuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act for making provision for the debt of the United States, having expired, statements from the proper department, will, as soon as possible apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is known already to afford an assurance that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States, has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt ; affording at the same time, proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accomodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective States, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt of the United States which remains unsubscribed, will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established, promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supersede, for the present, the necessity of any new burdens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention, is a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged, and such casu-

alties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made; of all which, a proper estimate will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,
—I shall content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution. Their importance will recall them to your attention; and I trust that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention; these are, the militia—the post office and post roads—the mint—weights and measures—a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order. In connexion with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable; naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement; exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post office and post roads, on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government;

which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross posts, especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the Union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a mint.— Measures have been taken pursuant to that resolution for procuring some of the most necessary artists, together with the requisite apparatus.

An uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution, and if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States, is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations ; that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt ; that if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burdening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal ; and that being free to discharge the principal, but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 6, 1792.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives.

IT is some abatement of the satisfaction, with which I meet you on the present occasion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity, generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hostilities, which have for some time past distressed our north-western frontier, have terminated.

You will I am persuaded, learn with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours towards effecting a pacification have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquillity to the frontier—to stop the further effusion of blood—to arrest the progress of expense—to forward the prevalent wish of the nation for peace, has led to strenuous efforts, through various channels, to accomplish these desirable purposes: in making which efforts, I consulted less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than to wish to find the object attainable; or if not attainable, to ascertain, unequivocally, that such is the case.

A detail of the measures that have been pursued, and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success, thus far, will, I trust, evince that means as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue

of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favourable one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by any thing that has yet happened.

In the course of the attempts which have been made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service. A sanction commonly respected even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre the emissaries of peace. It will, I presume be duly considered whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern, to be informed, that beside the continuation of hostile appearances among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tennessee river, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of *Holston*, made with the Cherokee nation in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations. But the event has not answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some banditti of another tribe, in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton, and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the United States in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto, defensive precautions only have been strictly enjoined, and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the United States, or their citizens, is even alleged as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarter.

I have reason to believe that every practicable exertion has been made (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of the failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops authorized to be raised, have been recruited though the number is still incomplete; and pains have been taken to discipline and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested will afford more precise information, as a guide to the legislative consultations; and among other things, will enable Congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be advisable.

In looking forward to the future expense of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenues for the present year, is likely to supersede the necessity of additional burdens on the community, for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to, proceeds upon the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostility.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier, and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians, without which

all pacific plans must prove nugatory. To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them, as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If, in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them, upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours, could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments, which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the United States. These impediments have lessened and are lessening in local extent; and, as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged a special interposition on my part, proper and advisable; and under this impression, have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And Congress may be assured that nothing within constitutional and legal limits which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just

authority of the laws. In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature, the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the Judges of the Supreme Court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniencies that are experienced. In the course of the execution of the laws, considerations arise out of the structure of that system, which in some cases, tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the courts of the United States, and a supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the Union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint; others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half dimes; the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondency with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns will, I doubt not be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law, which establishes the post office, operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country. Should this, upon due inquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information, will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a Constitution for the State of Kentucky, has been notified to me. The legislature will share with me in the satisfaction which arises from an event interesting to the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you, that since my last communication on the subject, and in further execution of the acts, severally making provision for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins; one at Antwerp, at the annual interest of four and one half per cent. with an allowance of four per cent. in lieu of charges; and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four

per cent. with an allowance of five and one half per cent. in one case, and of five per cent. in the other, in lieu of all charges. The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payments of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according to the provision made during the last session, has been embraced.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I entertain a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured to enable you to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government. No measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan which has been made of the bank of the United States, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the ensuing year, and for such extraordinaries as may require provision, will demand, and, I doubt not, will engage your early attention.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—I content myself with recalling your attention, generally, to such objects, not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto, will I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents ; such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under Divine Providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability, in the public councils.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 8, 1793.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,

SINCE the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honoured by my country :

on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives; and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions, having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage, which commanded me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success, our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace, drawn into question, by the suspicions, too often entertained by beligerant nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities, belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation which will be laid before you, was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties, and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored when they were taken within the protection of our

territory, or by vessels commissioned, or equipped in a warlike form, within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress, to correct, improve or enforce this plan of procedure ; and it will probably be found expedient, to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognised, demand some further provisions.

Where individuals shall within the United States, array themselves in hostility against any of the powers, at war, or enter upon military expeditions, or enterprises within the jurisdiction of the United States ; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States ; or where the penalties on the violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate ; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have *doubted*, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property, and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory, it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the Executive is to be the resort, in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law, to have facts ascertained by the courts when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will, for ever, keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents which will be presented to you, will show the amount, and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies, cannot, with prudence, be neglected, as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus, in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy, equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an enquiry which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act “more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States,” has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States

has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it, ought not to be, to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone?

The connexion of the United States with Europe, has become extremely interesting. The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the Executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed, that every reasonable effort has been made, to adjust the causes of dissention with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity, proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful, how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active moments, may retard them during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence which relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by succours of militia, or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the Executive, for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted

for the violences committed upon them. But the papers which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes ; and it is with Congress to pronounce, what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labours, to render tranquillity with the savages permanent, by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations in behalf of the United States, is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies ; with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit ; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The commissioners, charged with the settlement of accounts between the United and individual States, concluded their important functions, within the time limited by law ; and the balances struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the first day of June last, an instalment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in nature of a new loan, at an interest at five per cent. for the term of ten years ;

and the expenses of this operation, were a commission of three per cent.

The first instalment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States, has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent, than the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, on none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenues hitherto, has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore it is presumed, be requisite; and it is hoped that these may be made, consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contributions, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here, I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy; and to this primary good, nothing can conduce more than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint, throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations, necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores, made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—The several subjects to which I have now referred open a wide range to your deliberations; and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or candour; so shall not the public happiness languish, from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 19, 1794.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives,

WHEN we call to mind the gracious indulgence of heaven, by which the American people became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness, to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken

by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power, granted by the constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men, who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression, which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved; the arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals.

The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that by a more formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation.

Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise; a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had been hitherto pursued, was unavailing, and that farther delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process

was, therefore, delivered to the marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at *his* person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time, as a prisoner. He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process, on the west side of the Alleghany mountain; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed by fire, his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government; it being avowed, that the motives to such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector; to withstand by force of arms the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the law of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified to me that "in the counties of Washington and Alleghany, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal or that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stript of its capacity to enforce the laws: crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpe-

trated without control ; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence ; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States would be to violate the fundamental principle of our Constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen—to publish the dishonour of such excesses—to encounter the expense, and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field ; but I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the 7th of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who are charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any bodies of men, or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations which had been excited in the Executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion ; to represent, however, that without submission, coercion *must* be the resort ; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanour of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of Executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted, all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults did not subscribe the mild form, which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive, to recommend or warrant the further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy and the ease of my fellow citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt, and adequate in every view, and might perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; the Governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion an opinion which justified a requisition to the other States.

As commander in chief of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States; I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact infor-

mation, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends to peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance, which they ought always to receive, and I trust ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent, I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done; it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law; but that a spirit inimical to all order, has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance assuring such an issue, as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the Governor of Virginia.

Still however, as it is probable, that in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside, the stationing of a small force for a certain period in the four western counties of Pennsylvania will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session, being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the inspector of the revenue, but other officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision of the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompense in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application, any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof, that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that, notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they

were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican government, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers,—pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation, which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description, indeed, of citizens let praise be given; but let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the Constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who from every clime are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement which I took when I entered into office, “to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States,” on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you are deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it

ought not to be forgotten, that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects, as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. Besides the extraordinary expense and waste, which are not the least of the defects, every appeal to those laws is attended with a doubt on its success.

The devising and establishing of a well regulated militia would be a genuine source of legislative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I, therefore, entertain a hope that the present session will not pass, without carrying to its full energy the power of organizing, arming and disciplining the militia; and thus providing, in the language of the Constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

As auxiliary to the state of our defence, to which Congress can never too frequently recur, they will not omit to inquire, whether the fortifications, which have been already licensed by law, be commensurate with our exigencies.

The intelligence from the army under the command of General Wayne, is a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians, north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance which he has made must have damped the ardour of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States. And yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks, in particular, are

covered from encroachment by the interposition of the general government and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement, meditated at Presqu'-isle, on Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconception, into which they may have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations, the plan which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony with all the Indians within our limits, by the fixing and conducting of trading houses, upon the principles then expressed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The time which has elapsed since the commencement of our fiscal measures, has developed our pecuniary resources, so as to open a way for a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt. It is believed, that the result is such as to encourage Congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing would be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit, cannot be benefitted by procrastination; and as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumulation of debt, which must ultimately endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—The mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect

that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations will be transmitted to Congress. However, it may not be unseasonable to announce that my policy in our foreign transactions has been, to cultivate peace with all the world; to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality; to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread his holy protection over these United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our Constitution; to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 8, 1795.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,

I TRUST I do not deceive myself, while, I indulge the persuasion that I have never met you at any period, when more than at the present, the situation of our public af-

fairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive and distressing war in which we have been engaged with certain Indians northwest of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty which the commander of our army has concluded provisionally, with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. The object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon, will immediately be laid before the Senate, for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us; and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken. But we have to lament, that the fair prospect in this quarter, has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger; which will be productive of further expense, and may occasion more effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages; and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert general hostility.

A letter from the emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty, made with his father the late emperor; and consequently, the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing that the terms of the treaty with the dey and regency of that country, had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow citizens, from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid, give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue which, securing amicably very essential interests of the United States, will at the same time, lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power, whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House of Representatives, you, gentlemen, are all apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the Senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay be placed before Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States

controversies have subsisted; and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours with whom we have been in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have hitherto menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing and establishing the prosperity of our country!

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting and calamitous; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has imbibittered other sufferings; while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose, are alloyed, by the sense of heavy and accumulating burdens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government; our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity; a tranquillity the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expense of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligations to another. Our agriculture, commerce and manufactures prosper beyond former example; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which however, very pointed remonstrances have been made).

being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity, which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guaranties our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws; is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong and improve our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country, which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoy the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our Constitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to; and to extend forgiveness to those who have been adjudged to capital punishment. For though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested; yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in

the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which the national justice dignity and safety may permit.

Gentlemen,—Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers, are not yet finally adjusted; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment, is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry what imperfections in the existing plan, further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed, till the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction, which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth which continually receives new confirmations, namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants, are insufficient. It is

demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity; and it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians, will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity; and an enormous expense, to drain the treasury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress; and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them, they urge it with solicitude) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization, is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The state of our revenue, with the sums which have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper department, together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination. Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true interest of our country, as with the general sense of our constituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—The statements which will be laid before you relative to the mint, will show the situation of that institution; and the necessity of some further legislative provisions, for carrying the business of it more completely into effect; and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians; will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session; and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 7, 1796.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives,

IN recurring to the internal situation of our country, since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to ensure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontier, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard, on the one hand our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals who cannot be restrained by their tribes; and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty to draw them nearer to the civilized state; and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Colerain, in the State of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by the state, broke up without its being accomplished; the nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any sale: the occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm by a new treaty with the Creeks

their pre-existing engagements with the United States; and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading houses, and military posts within their boundary; by means of which their friendship, and the general peace may be more effectually secured.

The period during the late session at which the appropriation was passed for carrying into effect the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the United States, and his Britannic majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon however, as the Governor general of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation, and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michellimakinac and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made, as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, Esq. of New York, for the third commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrews, in Passamaquoddy bay, in the beginning of October; and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute; but deeming it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned, to meet in Boston, in August, 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and con-

demnation of vessels and other property, met the commissioners of his Britannic majesty, in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, Esq. was chosen by lot, for the fifth commissioner. In October following, the board were to proceed to business. As yet, there has been no communication of commissioners on the part of Great Britain, to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the commissioners for running the boundary line between the territory of the United States and his Catholic majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, should meet at the Natchez before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez, on the twenty-fifth day of April; and the troops of his Catholic majesty occupying any posts within the limits of the United States, were, within the same period to be withdrawn. The commissioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey for the Natchez in September; and troops were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commissioner on the part of his Catholic majesty for running the boundary line; but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the act of Congress passed in the last session, for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained; but those which have been communicated afford grounds

to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great Britain, declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the United States in London, and will command his attention, until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments, arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the dey and regency of Algiers, will, in all present appearance, be crowned with success ; but under great, though inevitable disadvantages, in the pecuniary transactions, occasioned by that war, which will render a further provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens, who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest of a satisfactory termination of the whole negotiation. Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a State is itself a party. But besides this it is in our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party, as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and

our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen; and their means, in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be advisable to begin, without delay, to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war; and to proceed in the work, by degrees, in proportion as to our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience; so that a future war with Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state, in which it was found by the present?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on public account are inexpedient. But where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will, for a great length of time, obtain; when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war; are not establishments for procuring them on public account, *to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service*, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted? If

the necessary articles should in this mode, cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising, form an ample compensation? Establishments of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in time of peace, will, in time of war, easily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government; and may even, perhaps, be made to yield a surplus for the supply of our citizens at large, so as to mitigate the privations from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches which are already, or likely soon to be established in the country; in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted, that with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population, and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it, grow up, supported by the public purse:—and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success, than the establishment of Boards, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement, by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common centre the results every where, of individual skill and observation; and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shown

that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of Congress, the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions, has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all, recalling your attention to them.

The assembly to which I address myself, is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is, that our country much to its honour, contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors, in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated; though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Amongst the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserve attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of *government*. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronise a plan for communicating it to those, who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy, is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies. The first would impair the energy of its character, and both would hazard its safety, or expose it to greater evils when war could not be avoided. Besides that war might often not depend upon its own choice. In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed.

The compensations to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision, are of serious import to the government, if private wealth is to supply the defect of public retribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of characters for office is to be made, and will proportionally diminish the probability of a choice of men able as well as upright. Besides that it would be repugnant to the vital

principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth.

While in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature, have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruisers and agents of the French Republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfectly friendly understanding with that Republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it, to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country: nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candour and friendship, on the part of the Republic, will eventually ensure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen.

I reserve for a special message, a more particular communication on this interesting subject.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I have directed an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, to be submitted from the

proper department; with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to the latest period to which an account can be prepared.

It is with satisfaction I am able to inform you, that the revenues of the United States continue in a state of progressive improvement.

A reinforcement of the existing provisions for discharging our public debt, was mentioned in my address at the opening of the last session. Some preliminary steps were taken towards it, the maturing of which will, no doubt, engage your zealous attention during the present. I will only add, that it will afford me a heartfelt satisfaction to concur in such further measures, as will ascertain to our country the prospect of a speedy extinguishment of the debt. Posterity may have cause to regret, if from any motive intervals of tranquillity are left unimproved for accelerating this valuable end.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment, has been so often, and so ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recall the subject to your view on the present occasion, at the same time, that I shall submit to your inquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured.

The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced, and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United

States ; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved ; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Washington's Farewell Address

TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow Citizens.

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation, might imply, I am influenced by

no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety ; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in

the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the

work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop: but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel: nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee,

that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken, in your minds, the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts:

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your

interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning, partly into its own channels, the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated: and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adopted. The *East*, in like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and imbitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there

will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head, they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government: but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary

force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community : and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp, for themselves, the reins of government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opi-

nion ; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed ; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction,

more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits, is probably true ; and, in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched ; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary, as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers, be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with

the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense, by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing

upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that, towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and

amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citi-

zens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils ! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake ; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial ; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible.

So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best

policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis all illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will

make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: but if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I

will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise

myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

GEO: WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

ADAMS'S SPEECHES.

INAUGURAL SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. *FOURTH OF MARCH, 1797.*

WHEN it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained, between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature and a total independence of its claims ; men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger, from the formidable power of fleets and armies, they must determine to resist, than from those contests and dissensions, which would certainly arise, concerning the forms of government to be instituted, over the whole, and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an over-ruling Providence, which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up. but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

The zeal and ardour of the people, during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, com-

manded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation, which was early felt to be necessary was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain, with any detail and precision, in history, and certainly the only ones, which the people at large had ever considered. But, reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country, and those where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier, in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some, who assisted in congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in States, soon appeared, with their melancholy consequences; universal languor, jealousies, rivalries of States; decline of navigation and commerce; discouragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce; contempt of public and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and, at length, in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection; threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan, to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisition, discussions, and deliberations, issued in the present happy constitution of government.

Employed in the service of my country abroad, during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the Constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as a result of good heads, prompted by good hearts; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed and in some States, my own native State in particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage in common with my fellow citizens, in the adoption or rejection of a constitution, which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it, on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then nor has been since, any objection to it, in my mind, that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it, for ten years, I had the honour to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the Constitution. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends; and, from an habitual attention to it, satisfac-

tion in its administration, and delight in its effects, upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

What other form of government, indeed, can so well deserve our esteem and love?

There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into cities and nations, are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligencies: but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind there can be no spectacle presented by any nation, more pleasing, more noble, majestic, or august, than an assembly like that which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of congress; of a government, in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the legislature, are exercised by citizens selected at regular periods by their neighbours, to make and execute laws for the general good. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by robes or diamonds? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For, it is the people only that are represented: it is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours, for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. And what object of consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs,

not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence.

In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if any thing partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party, through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party, for its own ends, not of the nation, for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations, by flattery or menaces; by fraud or violence; by terror, intrigue, or venality; the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves. And candid men, will acknowledge, that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

Such is the amiable and interesting system of government (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed) which the people of America have exhibited, to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations, for eight years; under the administration of a citizen, who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude; conducting a people, inspired with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity; has merited the gratitude of his fellow citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

In that retirement which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing; and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark, against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both Houses of Congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people, throughout the nation.

On this subject it might become me better to be silent, or to speak with diffidence; But, as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that—if a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth: if an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual States, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honour, and happiness of all the States in the Union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, eastern or western position, their various political opinions on essential points, or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronise every rational effort to encourage

schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of the people ; not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms ; but, as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, profligacy, and corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments ; if a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration ; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce, and manufactures for necessity, convenience, and defence ; if a spirit of equity and humanity, towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens be more friendly to them : if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith, with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by the government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both Houses of Congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the States and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress ; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years, chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honour and interest of both nations ; if, while the conscious honour and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved ; an earnest endeavour to investigate every just cause, and remove every colourable pretence, of complaint ; if an intention to pursue, by amicable negociation,

a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens by whatever nation ; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider, what further measures the honour and interest of the government and its constituents demand ; if a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend upon me, at all times, and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world ; if an unshaken confidence in the honour, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived ; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age ;— And with humble reverence I feel it my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity, among the best recommendations for the public service : can enable me, in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavour, that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect.

With this great example before me ; with the sense and spirit, the faith and honour, the duty and interest of the same American people, pledged to support the constitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy ; and my mind is prepared without hesitation, to lay myself under the most solemn obligations to support it, to the utmost of my power.

And may that Being, who is Supreme over All, the patron of order, the fountain of justice, and the protector

in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his blessing upon this nation and its government and give it all possible success and duration, consistent with the ends of his providence.

JOHN ADAMS.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, MAY 16, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate. and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE personal inconveniences to the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, in leaving their families and private affairs, at this season of the year, are so obvious, that I the more regret the extraordinary occasion which has rendered the convention of Congress indispensable.

It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a restoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whose animosities have endangered our tranquillity : but we have still abundant cause of gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of national blessings for general health and promising seasons ; for domestic and social happiness ; for the rapid progress and ample acquisitions of industry through extensive territories ; for civil, political, and religious liberty. While other States are desolated with foreign war or convulsed with intestine divisions, the United States presented the pleasing prospect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws, generally satisfied with the possession of their

rights; neither envying the advantages nor fearing the power of other nations; solicitous only for the maintenance of order and justice and the preservation of liberty, increasing daily in their attachment to a system of government, in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from the reason, and resting on the only solid foundation, the affections of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I shall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumstances, which admonish us that some of these felicities may not be lasting; but if the tide of our prosperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumspection becomes us, that we may meet our reverses with fortitude, and extricate ourselves from their consequences, with all the skill we possess, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommending to their consideration such measures as appear to me to be necessary or expedient according to my constitutional duty, the causes and the objects of the present extraordinary session will be explained.

After the President of the United States received information that the French government had expressed serious discontents at some proceedings of the government of these States, said to affect the interest of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions and to give such candid explanations as might happily remove the discontents, and suspicions of the French government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States.— For this purpose he selected from among his fellow-citizens a character, whose integrity, talents, experience, and

services, had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French republic ; being “to maintain that good understanding, which from the commencement of the alliance had subsisted between the two nations ; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union,” and his instructions were to the same effect “faithfully to represent the disposition of the government and people of the United States, (their disposition being one) to remove jealousies, and obviate complaints, by showing that they were groundless ; to restore that mutual confidence which had been so unfortunately and injuriously impaired ; and to explain the relative interests of both countries, and the real sentiments of his own.”

A minister thus specially commissioned, it was expected would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two republics. The first step of the French government corresponded with that expectation.

A few days before his arrival at Paris, the French minister of foreign relations, informed the American minister then resident at Paris, of the formalities to be observed by himself in taking leave, and by his successor preparatory to his reception. These formalities they observed ; and on the ninth of December, presented officially to the minister of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letters of recall, the other a copy of his letters of credence ; these were laid before the executive directory. Two days afterwards the minister of foreign relations informed the recalled American minister, that the executive directory had

determined not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic had a right to expect from it. The American minister immediately endeavoured to ascertain whether by refusing to receive him, it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French republic; and verbal answers were given that such was the intention of the directory. For his own justification, he desired a written answer, but obtained none until towards the last of January, when receiving notice, in writing, to quit the territories of the republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instructions from his government. During his residence at Paris, cards of hospitality were refused him, and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police; but with becoming firmness he insisted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minister of a foreign power. You will derive further information from his despatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often necessary that nations should treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and especially to accommodate and terminate differences; and as they can treat only by ministers, the right of embassy is well known and established by the law and usage of nations. The refusal on the part of France to receive our minister, is then the denial of a right; but the refusal to receive him, until we have acceded to their demands, without discussion, and without investigation, is to treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a sovereign state.

With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view, the public audience given to the

late minister of the United States, on his taking leave of the executive directory. The speech of the President discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a minister; because more dangerous to our independence and union; and at the same time studiously marked with indignities towards the government of the United States. It evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the government; to persuade them that they have different affections, principles and interests from those of their fellow citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns; and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence; and regardless of national honour, character and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions, if it had been possible to conceal them; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world, in the face of all Europe and America, and with such circumstances of publicity, and solemnity that they cannot be disguised, and will not soon be forgotten: they have inflicted a wound in the American breast; it is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed.—It is my desire and in this I presume I concur with you, and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations; and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on

terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests and honour of the nation. If we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them. If we have done injuries, we shall be willing, on conviction, to redress them; and equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France and every other nation.

The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France being at present suspended, the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country, nevertheless there is reason to believe that the executive directory passed a decree, on the second of March last, contravening, in part, the treaty of amity and commerce of one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight, injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens.—A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavouring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources of the nation. With a sea coast of near two thousand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to these objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce, would not fail to produce the most embarrass-

sing disorders ; to prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man who considers the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens, and the description of the vessels by which these abuses have been practised. As the sufferings of our mercantile and seafaring citizens, cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity, arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection.—To resist the consequences of such impressions on the minds of foreign nations, and to guard against the degradation and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character, is an important duty of government.

A naval power next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States : the experience of the last war, would be sufficient to show, that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the present abilities of the Union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops from one state to another, which were then practised. Our sea coasts, from their great extent, are more easily annoyed and more easily defended by a naval force than any other. With all the materials our country abounds ; in skill our naval architects and navigators are equal to any ; and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily and extensively as the present crisis demands. Hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels, except on voyages

to the East Indies, where general usage and the danger from pirates, appeared to render the permission proper ; yet the restriction has originated solely from a wish to prevent collusions with the powers at war, contravening the act of Congress of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence, while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for Congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our seafaring citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations ; and at the same time, restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In addition to this voluntary provision for defence, by individual citizens, it appears to me necessary to equip the frigates, and provide other vessels of inferior force, to take under convoy such merchant vessels as shall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruisers, whose depredations have been most injurious, have been built, and some of them partially equipped in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to present the subject generally to your consideration. If a mode can be devised, by the wisdom of Congress, to prevent the resources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the same view I think it proper to mention that some of our citizens, resident abroad have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States ;—such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be restrained only by severe punishments.

But besides a protection of our commerce on the seas, I think it highly necessary to protect it at home where it is collected in our most important ports. The distance of the United States from Europe, and the well known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people in defence of their country, happily diminish the probability of invasion; nevertheless, to guard against sudden and predatory incursions, the situation of some of our principal sea ports demands your consideration; and as our country is vulnerable in other interests besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate whether the means of general defence ought not to be increased, by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a provisional army.

With the same view, and as a measure which, even in a time of universal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration, a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defence of the country efficacious.

Although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it, if we can; yet to effect this separation, early, punctual and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation, is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them: It is necessary in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparations against them. However we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will consider the United States of America, as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgot-

ten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe at least, if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale. It is a natural policy for a nation that studies to be neutral, to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits; at the same time that measures ought to be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired, and the other near expiring, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—It is particularly your province to consider the state of the public finances; and to adopt such measures, respecting them, as exigencies shall be found to require. The preservation of public credit, the regular extinguishment of the public debt, and a provision of funds to defray any extraordinary expenses, will of course call for your serious attention. Although the imposition of new burdens cannot be in itself agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you such measures as their actual engagements, their present security and future interests demand.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The present situation of our country imposes an obligation on all the departments of government to adopt an explicit and decided conduct; In my situation an exposition of the principles by which my administration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, or the world, what has been before observed, that endeavours have been employed to foster and establish a division between the government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged this attempt is

not necessary ; but to repel, by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honour, and agressions so dangerous to the constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty.

It must not be permitted to be doubted whether the people of the United States will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice ; or whether by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own government, they will forfeit the honourable station they have hitherto maintained.

For myself, having never been indifferent to what concerned the interests of my country, devoted the best part of my life to obtain and support its independence, and constantly witnessed the patriotism, fidelity, and perseverance of my fellow citizens, on the most trying occasions, it is not for me to hesitate or abandon a cause in which my heart has been so long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations ; that those internal regulations which have been established by law, for the preservation of peace, are in their nature, proper and that they have been fairly executed, nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements ; to innovate upon principles which have been so deliberately and uprightly established ; or to surrender in any manner the rights of the government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, under God, with entire confidence, on the firm and enlightened support of the national legislature and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens.

JOHN ADAMS.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 23, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
of the House of Representatives,

I WAS for some time apprehensive, that it would be necessary, on account of the contagious sickness which afflicted the city of Philadelphia, to convene the national legislature at some other place. This measure it was desirable to avoid, because it would occasion much public inconvenience, and a considerable public expense, and add to the calamities of the inhabitants of this city whose sufferings must have excited the sympathy of all their fellow citizens. Therefore, after taking measures to ascertain the state and decline of the sickness, I postponed my determination, having hopes, now happily realized, that, without hazard to the lives or health of the members, Congress might assemble at this place, where it was next by law to meet. I submit, however, to your consideration, whether a power to postpone the meeting of Congress, without passing the time fixed by the constitution, upon such occasions, would not be a useful amendment, to the law of 1794.

Although I cannot yet congratulate you on the re-establishment of peace in Europe, and the restoration of security to the persons and properties of our citizens from injustice and violence at sea, we have nevertheless abundant cause of gratitude to the Source of the Benevolence and Influence, for interior tranquillity and personal security, for propitious seasons, prosperous agriculture, productive fisheries, and general improvements: And above

all for a rational spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm but steady determination to support our sovereignty as well as our moral and religious principles against all open and secret attacks.

Our envoys extraordinary to the French republic embarked one in July, the other early in August, to join their colleague in Holland.—I have received intelligence of the arrival of both of them in Holland, from whence they all proceeded on their journeys to Paris, within a few days of the nineteenth of September.—Whatever may be the result of this mission, I trust that nothing will have been omitted on my part, to conduct the negotiation to a successful conclusion, on such equitable terms as may be compatible with the safety, honour and interests of the United States.—Nothing, in the mean time, will contribute so much to the preservation of peace, and the attainment of justice, as a manifestation of that energy and unanimity, of which, on many former occasions, the people of the United States have given such memorable proofs, and the exertion of those resources for national defence, which a beneficent providence has kindly placed within their power.

It may be confidently asserted, that nothing has occurred since the adjournment of Congress, which renders inexpedient those precautionary measures recommended by me to the consideration of the two houses, at the opening of your late extraordinary session. If that system was then prudent, it is more so now, as increasing depredations strengthen the reasons for its adoption.

Indeed, whatever may be the issue of the negotiation with France, and whether the war in Europe is or is not to continue, I hold it most certain, that perfect tranquillity and order will not soon be obtained. The state of socie-

ty had so long been disturbed ; the sense of moral and religious obligations so much weakened ; public faith and national honour have been so impaired ; respect to treaties has been so diminished, and the law of nations has lost so much of its force, while pride, ambition, avarice and violence, have been so long unrestrained, there remains no reasonable ground on which to raise an expectation, that a commerce, without protection or defence, will not be plundered.

The commerce of the United States, is essential, if not to their existence, at least to their comfort, their growth, prosperity and happiness. The genius, character and habits of the people are highly commercial. Their cities have been formed and exist upon commerce. Our agriculture, fisheries, arts and manufactures, are connected with, and depend upon it. In short, commerce has made this country what it is ; and it cannot be destroyed or neglected, without involving the people in poverty and distress. Great numbers are directly and solely supported by navigation. The faith of society is pledged for the preservation of the rights of commercial and seafaring no less than of the other citizens. Under this view of our affairs, I should hold myself guilty of a neglect of duty, if I forebore to recommend, that we should make every exertion to protect our commerce, and to place our country in a suitable posture of defence, as the only sure means of preserving both.

I have entertained an expectation, that it would have been in my power, at the opening of this session, to have communicated to you the agreeable information of the due execution of our treaty, with his catholic majesty, respecting the withdrawing of his troops from our territory, and the demarcation of the line of limits ; but by

the latest authentic intelligence, Spanish garrisons were still continued within our country, and the running of the boundary line had not been commenced. These circumstances are the more to be regreted, as they cannot fail to affect the Indians in a manner injurious to the United States. Still, however, indulging the hope, that the answers which have been given, will remove the objections offered by the Spanish officers to the immediate execution of the treaty, I have judged it proper that we should continue in readiness to receive the posts, and to run the line of limits. Further information on this subject will be communicated in the course of the session.

In connection with this unpleasant state of things in our western frontier, it is proper for me to mention the attempts of foreign agents, to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hostilities against the United States. Great activity has been exerted by these persons, who have insinuated themselves among the Indian tribes, residing within the territory of the United States, to influence them to transfer their affections and force to a foreign nation; to form them into a confederacy, and prepare them for war against the United States.

Although measures have been taken to counteract these infractions of our rights: to prevent Indian hostilities; and to preserve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to observe, that to give a better effect to these measures, and to obviate the consequences of a repetition of such practices, a law providing adequate punishment for such offences may be necessary.

The commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the

United States and Great Britain, to ascertain the river which was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, met at Passamaquaddy bay, in October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and viewed the mouths of the rivers in question, and the adjacent shores and islands; and being of opinion that actual surveys of both rivers to their sources were necessary, gave to the agents of the two nations instructions for that purpose, and adjourned to meet at Boston, in August. They met; but the surveys requiring more time than had been supposed, and not being then completed, the commissioners again adjourned to meet at Providence, in the state of Rhode Island, in June next, when we may expect a final examination and decision.

The commissioners appointed in pursuance of the sixth article of the treaty, met at Philadelphia, in May last to examine the claims of British subjects for debts contracted before the peace, and still remaining due to them from citizens or inhabitants of the United States. Various causes have hitherto prevented any determinations; but the business is now resumed, and doubtless will be prosecuted without interruption.

Several decisions on the claims of citizens of the United States, for losses and damages sustained by reason of irregular and illegal captures or condemnations of their vessels or other property, have been made by the commissioners in London, conformably to the seventh article of the treaty. The sums awarded by the commissioners have been paid by the British government. A considerable number of other claims, where costs and damages, and not captured property, were the only objects in question, have been decided by arbitration, and

the sums awarded to the citizens of the United States, have also been paid.

The commissioners appointed agreeably to the twenty-first article of our treaty with Spain, met at Philadelphia in the summer past, to examine and decide on the claims of our citizens for losses they have sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his catholic majesty, during the late war between Spain and France. Their sittings have been interrupted but are now resumed.

The United States being obligated to make compensation for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, upon the award of the commissioners acting under the sixth article of the treaty with Great Britain; and for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, by reason of the capture of their vessels, and merchandise taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, and brought into their ports, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the United States, upon the awards of the commissioners acting under the seventh article of the same treaty, it is necessary that provision be made for fulfilling these obligations.

The numerous captures of American vessels by the cruisers of the French republic, and of some by those of Spain, have occasioned considerable expenses, in making and supporting the claims of our citizens before their tribunals. The sums required for this purpose, have, in divers instances, been disbursed by the consuls of the United States.—By means of the same captures, great numbers of our seamen have been thrown ashore in foreign countries, destitute of all means of subsistence; and the sick, in particular, have been exposed to grievous sufferings.—The consuls have, in these cases also, advan-

ced moneys for their relief. For these advances, they reasonably expect reimbursements from the United States.

The consular act, relative to seamen, requires revision and amendment. The provisions for their support in foreign countries, and for their return, are found to be inadequate and ineffectual.—Another provision seems necessary to be added to the consular act. Some foreign vessels have been discovered sailing under the flag of the United States, and with forged papers. It seldom happens that the consuls can detect this deception, because they have no authority to demand an inspection of the registers and sea letters.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—It is my duty to recommend to your serious consideration, those objects which, by the constitution, are placed particularly within your sphere, the national debt and taxes.

Since the decay of the feudal system by which the public defence was provided for chiefly at the expense of individuals, the system of loans has been introduced. And as no nation can raise within the year, by taxes, sufficient sums for its defence and military operations in time of war, the sums loaned, and debts contracted, have necessarily become the subject of what have been called funding systems. The consequences arising from the continual accumulation of public debts, in other countries, ought to admonish us to be careful to prevent their growth in our own. The national defence must be provided for, as well as the support of government; but both should be accomplished, as much as possible, by immediate taxes, and as little as possible by loans.—The estimate for the service of the ensuing year, will, by my direction, be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.—We are met together at a most interesting period. The situations of the principal powers of Europe are singular and portentous. Connected with some by treaties, and with all by commerce, no important event there, can be indifferent to us. Such circumstances call with peculiar importunity, not less for a disposition to unite in all those measures, on which the honour, safety, and prosperity of our country depends, than for all the exertions of wisdom and firmness.

In all such measures you may rely on my zealous and hearty concurrence.

JOHN ADAMS.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 8, 1798.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

WHILE with reverence and resignation, we contemplate the dispensations of Divine Providence in the alarming and destructive pestilence with which several of our cities and towns have been visited, there is cause for gratitude and mutual congratulations, that the malady has disappeared, and that we are again permitted to assemble in safety, at the seat of government, for the discharge of our important duties. But when we reflect that this fatal disorder has, within a few years made repeated ravages in some of our principal sea-ports, and with increased

malignancy ; and when we consider the magnitude of the evils, arising from the interruption of public and private business, whereby the national interests are deeply affected ; I think it my duty to invite the legislature of the Union to examine the expediency of establishing suitable regulations in aid of the health laws of the respective states ; for these being formed on the idea, that contagious sickness may be communicated through the channels of commerce, there seems to be a necessity, that Congress, who alone can regulate trade, should frame a system, which, while it may tend to preserve the general health, may be compatible with the interests of commerce, and the safety of the revenue.

While we think on this calamity, and sympathise with the immediate sufferers, we have abundant reason to present to the Supreme Being, our annual oblations of gratitude, for a liberal participation in the ordinary blessings of his providence. To the usual subjects of gratitude, I cannot omit to add one of the first importance to our well being and safety : I mean that spirit which has arisen in our country against the menaces and aggression of a foreign nation. A manly sense of national honour, dignity and independence, has appeared, which if encouraged and invigorated by every branch of the government, will enable us to view undismayed the enterprises of any foreign power, and become the sure foundation of national prosperity and glory.

The course of the transactions in relation to the United States and France which have come to my knowledge during your recess, will be made the subject of a future communication. That communication will confirm the ultimate failure of the measures which have been taken by the government of the United States towards an amicable

adjustment of differences with that power. You will at the same time perceive, that the French government appears solicitous to impress the opinion, that it is averse to a rupture with this country, and that it has, in a qualified manner, declared itself willing to receive a minister from the United States, for the purpose of restoring a good understanding. It is unfortunate for professions of this kind, that they should be expressed in terms which may countenance the inadmissible pretension of a right to prescribe the qualifications which a minister from the United States should possess, and that, while France is asserting the existence of a disposition on her part to conciliate with sincerity the differences which have arisen, the sincerity of a like disposition on the part of the United States, of which so many demonstrative proofs have been given, should even be indirectly questioned. It is also worthy of observation, that the decree of the directory, alledged to be intended to restrain the depredations of French cruisers on our commerce, has not given, and cannot give any relief; it enjoins them to conform to all the laws of France relative to cruising and prizes; while these laws are themselves the sources of the depredations of which we have so long, so justly, and so fruitlessly complained.

The law of France, enacted in January last, which subjects to capture and condemnation neutral vessels and their cargoes, if any portion of the latter are of British fabric or produce, although the entire property belong to neutrals, instead of being rescinded, has lately received a confirmation, by the failure of a proposition for its repeal. While this law, which is an unequivocal act of war on the commerce of the nations it attacks, continues in force, those nations can see in the French government only a power regardless of their essential rights, of their inde-

pendence and sovereignty : and if they possess the means, they can reconcile nothing with their interest and honour, but a firm resistance.

Hitherto, therefore, nothing is discoverable in the conduct of France, which ought to change or relax our measures of defence ; on the contrary, to extend and invigorate them, is our true policy. We have no reason to regret that these measures have been thus far adopted and pursued : and in proportion as we enlarge our view of the portentous and incalculable situation of Europe, we shall discover new and cogent motives for the full development of our energies and resources.

But, in demonstrating by our conduct that we do not fear war, in the necessary protection of our rights and honour, we shall give no room to infer that we abandon the desire of peace. An efficient preparation for war can alone ensure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perseveringly cultivated ; and harmony between us and France may be restored at her option. But to send another minister without more determinate assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the United States ought not to submit. It must, therefore, be left with France, if she is indeed desirous of accommodation, to take the requisite steps. The United States will steadily observe the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. They will respect the sacred rights of embassy. And with a sincere disposition on the part of France to desist from hostility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore inflicted on our commerce, and to do justice in future, there will be no obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse. In making to you this declaration, I give a pledge to France, and to the world, that the Executive authority of this country still

adheres to the humane and pacific policy, which has invariably governed its proceedings, in conformity with the wishes of the other branches of the government, and of the people of the United States. But considering the late manifestations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion, that whether we negotiate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war, will be alike indispensable. These alone will give to us an equal treaty, and ensure its observance.

Among the measures of preparation which appear expedient, I take the liberty to recall your attention to the naval establishment. The beneficial effects of the small naval armament provided under the acts of the last session, are known and acknowledged. Perhaps no country ever experienced more sudden and remarkable advantages from any measure of policy, than we have derived from the arming for our maritime protection and defence. We ought, without loss of time, to lay the foundation for an increase of our navy to a size sufficient to guard our coast and protect our trade. Such a naval force, as it is doubtless in the power of the United States to create and maintain, would also afford to them the best means of general defence, by facilitating the safe transportation of troops and stores to every part of our extensive coast. To accomplish this important object, a prudent foresight requires that systematical measures be adopted for procuring, at all times, the requisite timber and other supplies. In what manner this shall be done, I leave to your consideration.

I will now advert, gentlemen, to some matters of less moment, but proper to be communicated to the national legislature.

After the Spanish garrisons had evacuated the posts they occupied at the Natchez and Walnut-hills, the commissioner of the United States commenced his observations to ascertain the point near the Mississippi, which terminated the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. From thence he proceeded to run the boundary line between the United States and Spain. He was afterwards joined by the Spanish commissioner, when the work of the former was confirmed; and they proceeded together to the demarcation of the line. Recent information renders it probable that the southern Indians, either instigated to oppose the demarcation, or jealous of the consequences of suffering white people to run a line over lands to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, have, ere this time, stopped the progress of the commissioners. And considering the mischiefs which may result from continuing the demarcation, in opposition to the will of the Indian tribes, the great expense attending it, and that the boundaries which the commissioners have actually established, probably extend at least as far as the Indian title has been extinguished, it will perhaps become expedient and necessary to suspend further proceedings, by recalling our commissioner.

The commissioners appointed in pursuance of the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic majesty, to determine what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein described, have finally decided that question. On the 25th of October, they made their declaration, that a river called Scoodiac, which falls into Passamaquoddy Bay, at its north-western quarter, was the true St. Croix intended in the treaty of

peace, as far as its great fork, where one of its streams comes from the westward, and the other from the northward; and that the latter stream is the continuation of the St. Croix to its source. The decision, it is understood, will preclude all contention among individual claimants, as it seems that the Scoddiac and its northern branch, bound the grants of lands which have been made by the respective adjoining governments. A subordinate question however, it has been suggested, still remains to be determined. Between the mouth of the St. Croix, as now settled, and what is usually called the Bay of Fundy, lie a number of valuable islands. The commissioners have not continued the boundary line through any channel of these islands; and unless the bay of Passamaquoddy, be a part of the Bay of Fundy, this further adjustment of boundary will be necessary. But it is apprehended that this will not be a matter of any difficulty.

Such progress has been made in the examination and decision of cases of captures and condemnations of American vessels, which were the subject of the seventh article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the United States, and Great Britain, that it is supposed the commissioners will be able to bring their business to a conclusion in August of the ensuing year.

The commissioners acting under the twenty-first article of the treaty, between the United States and Spain, have adjusted most of the claims of our citizens for losses sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his catholic majesty during the late war between France and Spain.

Various circumstances have concurred to delay the execution of the law for augmenting the military establishment. Among these, the desire of obtaining the fullest

information to direct the best selection of officers. As this object will now be speedily accomplished it is expected that the raising and organizing of the troops will proceed without obstacle, and with effect.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I have directed an estimate of the appropriations which will be necessary for the service of the ensuing year to be laid before you, accompanied with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to a recent period. It will afford you satisfaction to infer the great extent and solidity of the public resources, from the prosperous state of the finances, notwithstanding the unexampled embarrassments which have attended commerce. When you reflect on the conspicuous examples of patriotism and liberality which have been exhibited by our mercantile fellow citizens, and how great a proportion of the public resources depends on their enterprise, you will naturally consider, whether their convenience cannot be promoted and reconciled with the security of the revenue, by a revision of the system, by which the collection is at present regulated.

During your recess, measures have been steadily pursued for effecting the valuations and returns directed by the act of the last session, preliminary to the assessment and collection of a direct tax. No other delays or obstacles have been experienced, except such as were expected to arise from the great extent of our country and the magnitude and novelty of the operation, and enough has been accomplished to assure a fulfilment of the views of the legislature.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I cannot close this address, without once more adverting to our political situation, and incul-

cating the essential importance of uniting in the maintenance of our dearest interests ; and I trust, that by the temper and wisdom of our proceedings, and by a harmony of measures, we shall secure to our country that weight and respect to which it is so justly entitled.

JOHN ADAMS.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 3, 1799.

Gentlemen of the Senate. and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IT is with peculiar satisfaction, that I meet the sixth Congress of the United States of America.—Coming from all parts of the Union, at this critical and interesting period, the members must be fully possessed of the sentiments and wishes of our constituents.

The flattering prospects of abundance, from the labours of the people, by land and by sea ; the prosperity of our extended commerce, notwithstanding interruptions occasioned by the belligerent state of a great part of the world ; the return of health, industry and trade, to those cities, which have lately been afflicted with disease ; and the various and inestimable advantages, civil and religious, which secured under our happy frame of government, are continued to us, unimpaired ; demand of the whole American people, sincere thanks to a benevolent Deity, for the merciful dispensations of his Providence.

But, while these numerous blessings are recollected it is a painful duty to advert to the ungrateful return, which has been made for them, by some of the people, in certain counties of Pennsylvania, where, seduced by the arts and misrepresentations of designing men, they have openly resisted the law, directing the valuation of houses and lands. Such defiance was given to the civil authority as rendered hopeless all further attempts, by judicial process, to enforce the execution of the law ; and it became necessary to direct a military force to be employed, consisting of some companies of regular troops, volunteers and militia, by whose zeal and activity, in co-operation with the judicial power, order and submission were restored, and many of the offenders arrested. Of these, some have been convicted of misdemeanors, and others, charged with various crimes remain to be tried.

To give due effect to the civil administration of government, and to ensure a just execution of the laws, a revision and amendment of the judiciary system is indispensably necessary. In this extensive country, it cannot but happen, that numerous questions respecting the interpretation of the laws and the rights and duties of officers and citizens, must arise. On the one hand, the laws should be executed ; on the other individuals should be guarded from oppression : neither of these objects is sufficiently assured, under the present organization of the judicial department, I therefore earnestly recommend the subject to your serious consideration.

Persevering in the pacific and humane policy, which had been invariably professed, and sincerely pursued by the executive authority of the United States ; when indications were made, on the part of the French republic, of a disposition to accommodate the existing differences

between the two countries, I felt it to be my duty to prepare for meeting their advances, by a nomination of ministers upon certain conditions which the honour of our country dictated, and which its moderation had given it a right to prescribe. The assurances which were required of the French government, previous to the departure of our envoys, have been given, through their minister of foreign relations; and I have directed them to proceed on their mission to Paris. They have full power to conclude a treaty, subject to the constitutional advice and consent of the Senate. The characters of these gentlemen, are sure pledges to their country, that nothing incompatible with its honour or interest, nothing inconsistent with our obligations of good faith or friendship to any other nation, will be stipulated.

It appearing probable, from the information I received, that our commercial intercourse, with some ports, in the island of St. Domingo might safely be renewed, I took such steps as seemed to me expedient to ascertain that point. The result being satisfactory, I then, in conformity with the act of Congress on the subject, directed the restraint and prohibitions of that intercourse to be discontinued, on terms which were made known by proclamation. Since the renewal of this intercourse, our citizens trading to those ports, with their property have been duly respected, and privateering from those ports has ceased.

In examining the claims of British subjects by the commissioners at Philadelphia, acting under the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, with Great Britain, a difference of opinion, on points deemed essential, in the interpretation of that article has arisen between the commissioners appointed by the Uni-

ted States, and the other members of that board, from which the former have thought it their duty to withdraw. It is sincerely to be regretted, that the execution of an article produced by mutual spirit of amity and justice, should have been thus unavoidably interrupted. It is, however, confidently expected that the same spirit of amity and the same sense of justice in which it originated will lead to satisfactory explanations. In consequence of the obstacles to the progress of the commission in Philadelphia, his Britannic majesty has directed the commissioners appointed by him, under the seventh article of the treaty, relating to British captures of American vessels, to withdraw from the board sitting in London: but with the express declaration of his determination to fulfil with punctuality and good faith, the engagements, which his majesty has contracted by his treaty with the United States; and that they will be instructed to resume their functions, whenever the obstacles, which impede the progress of the commission at Philadelphia, shall be removed. It being in like manner, my sincere determination, so far as depends on me, that with equal punctuality and good faith, the engagements contracted by the United States, in their treaties with his Britannic majesty, shall be fulfilled, I shall immediately instruct our minister at London to endeavour to obtain the explanations necessary to a just performance of those engagements, on the part of the United States. With such dispositions on both sides, I cannot entertain a doubt, that all difficulties will soon be removed, and that the two boards will then proceed and bring the business committed to them respectively, to a satisfactory conclusion.

The act of Congress, relative to the seat of the government of the United States, requiring that on the first

Monday of December next, it should be transferred from Philadelphia, to the district chosen for its permanent seat, it is proper for me to inform you, that the commissioners appointed to provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of Congress, and of the President, and of the public offices of the government, have made a report of the state of the buildings designed for those purposes in the city of Washington: from which they conclude that the removal of the seat of government to that place, at the time required, will be practicable, and the accommodation satisfactory. Their report will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, together with an account of the revenue and expenditure, to be laid before you. During a period, in which a great portion of the civilized world, has been involved in a war, unusually calamitous and destructive, it was not to be expected, that the United States could be exempted from extraordinary burdens. Although the period is not arrived, when the measures adopted, to secure, our country against foreign attacks can be renounced, yet it is alike necessary for the honour of the government, and the satisfaction of the community, that an exact economy should be maintained. I invite you, gentlemen, to investigate the different branches of the public expenditure:—the examination will lead to beneficial retrenchments; or produce a conviction of the wisdom of the measures, to which the expenditure relates.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—At a period like the present, when momentous changes are occurring, and every hour is preparing new and great events in the political world;

when a spirit of war is prevalent in almost every nation with whose affairs the interest of the United States have any connection ; unsafe and precarious would be our situation, were we to neglect the means of maintaining our just rights. The result of the mission to France is uncertain : but however it may terminate, a steady perseverance in a system of national defence, commensurate with our resources, and the situation of our country, is an obvious dictate of wisdom. For, remotely as we are placed from the belligerent nations. and desirous as we are by doing justice to all, to avoid offence to any ; nothing short of the power of repelling aggressions, will secure to our country a rational prospect of escaping the calamities of war, or national degradation. As to myself it is my anxious desire, so to execute the trust reposed in me, as to render the people of the United States, prosperous and happy. I rely, with entire confidence, on your co-operation in objects equally your care ; and that our mutual labours will serve to increase and confirm union among our fellow citizens and an unshaken attachment to our government.

JOHN ADAMS.

SPEECH

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 22, 1800.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IMMEDIATELY after the adjournment of Congress at their last session in Philadelphia, I gave directions in compliance with the laws for the removal of the public offices, records and property : These directions have been executed, and the public officers, have since resided and conducted the ordinary business of the government, in this place.

I congratulate the people of the United States on the assembling of Congress at the permanent seat of their government ; and I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the prospect of a residence not to be changed : although there is cause to apprehend that accommodations are not now so complete as might be wished, yet there is great reason to believe that this inconvenience will cease with the present session.

It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble, for the first time, in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and imploring his blessing.

May this territory be the residence of virtue, and happiness !—In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be forever held in veneration !—Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever !

It is with you, gentlemen, to consider whether the local powers over the district of Columbia, vested by the constitution in the Congress of the United States, shall be immediately exercised : if, in your opinion, this important trust ought now to be executed, you cannot fail, while performing it, to take into view the future probable situation of the territory for the happiness of which you are about to provide. You will consider it as the capital of a great nation, advancing, with unexampled rapidity, in arts, in commerce, in wealth and in population ; and possessing within itself those energies and resources, which if not thrown away or lamentably misdirected, secure to it a long course of prosperity and self-government.

In compliance with a law of the last session of Congress, the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have been discharged : it affords real pleasure to recollect the honourable testimony they gave of the patriotic motives which brought them into the service of their country, by the readiness and regularity with which they returned to the station of private citizens.

It is in every point of view of such primary importance to carry the laws into prompt and faithful execution, and to render that part of the administration of justice which the constitution and laws devolve on the federal courts, as convenient to the people as may consist with their present circumstances, that I cannot omit, once more, to recommend to your serious consideration the judiciary system of the United States. No subject is more interesting than this to the public happiness, and to none can those improvements which may have been suggested by experience, be more beneficially applied.

A treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Prussia, has been concluded and ratified: the ratifications have

been exchanged, and I have directed the treaty to be promulgated by proclamation.

The difficulties which suspended the execution of the sixth article of our treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with Great Britain, have not yet been removed: the negotiation on this subject is still depending. As it must be for the interest and honour of both nations to adjust this difference with good faith, I indulge confidently the expectation that the sincere endeavours of the government of the United States to bring it to an amicable termination, will not be disappointed.

The envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary from the United States to France, were received by the first consul, with the respect due to their character; and three persons, with equal powers, were appointed to treat with them. Although at the date of the last official intelligence the negotiation had not terminated, yet it is to be hoped that our efforts to effect an accommodation, will at length meet with a success proportioned to the sincerity with which they have been so often repeated.

While our best endeavours for the preservation of harmony with all nations will continue to be used, the experience of the world and our own experience admonish us of the insecurity of trusting too confidently to their own success. We cannot, without committing a dangerous imprudence, abandon those measures of self protection which are adapted to our situation, and to which, notwithstanding our pacific policy, the violence and injustice of others may compel us to resort. While our vast extent of sea-coast, the commercial and agricultural habits of our people, the great capital they will continue to trust on the ocean, suggest the system of defence which will be most beneficial to ourselves, our distance from Europe and

our resources for maritime strength, will enable us to employ it with effect. Seasonable and systematic arrangements, so far as our resources will justify, for a navy adapted to defensive war, and which may in case of necessity, be quickly brought into use, seem to be as much recommended by a wise and true economy as by a just regard for our future tranquillity, for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean.

The present navy of the United States, called suddenly into existence by a great national exigency, has raised us in our own esteem; and by the protection afforded to our commerce, has effected, to the extent of our expectations, the objects for which it was created.

In connection with a navy ought to be contemplated the fortification of some of our principal sea-ports and harbours. A variety of considerations, which will readily suggest themselves, urge an attention to this measure of precaution. To give security to our principal ports, considerable sums have already been expended, but the works remain incomplete. It is for Congress to determine whether additional appropriations shall be made, in order to render competent to the intended purposes the fortifications which have been commenced.

The manufacture of arms within the United States still invites the attention of the national legislature: at a considerable expense to the public this manufactory has been brought to such a state of maturity, as with continued encouragement will supersede the necessity of future importations from foreign countries.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the pub-

lic revenue, and expenditure to a late period, to be laid before you.

I observe with much satisfaction that the product of the revenue during the present year, has been more considerable than during any former equal period. This result affords conclusive evidence of the great resources of this country, and the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by Congress for the protection of commerce and preservation of public credit.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistably drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore and of wisdom to avoid the causes which may have produced it. If turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country, prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour, we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions which have been the source of much real felicity, and resist with unabating perseverance, the progress of those dangerous innovations which may diminish their influence.

To your patriotism, gentlemen, has been confided the honourable duty of guarding the public interests; and while the past is to your country a sure pledge that it will be faithfully discharged, permit me to assure you that your labours to promote the general happiness will receive from me the most zealous co-operation.

JOHN ADAMS.

JEFFERSON'S

Messages.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. *FOURTH OF MARCH, 1801.*

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

CALLED upon to undertake the duties of the first Executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my power, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly indeed should I despair, did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that, in the other high autho-

rities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions, has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation

of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore ; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others ; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety ; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans : we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know indeed that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong ; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us then with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles ; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe ; too high minded to en-

dure the degradations of the others, possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more fellow citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations.—Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:—peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none:—the support of the state gov-

ernments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies :—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad :—a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided :—absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism ; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them : the supremacy of the civil over the military authority :—economy in the public expense, that labour may be lightly burdened :—the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith : encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid ; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason :—freedom of religion ; freedom of the press ; and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus :—and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment :—they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust ; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.

I repair then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation, and the favour, which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not, if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage, is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be, to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 8, 1801.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate,
and of the House of Representatives.

IT is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that on meeting the great council of the nation, I am able to announce to them on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles, which have for so many years afflicted our sister nations, have at length come to an end; and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound, with peculiar gratitude, to be thankful to him that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practise and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts.—The assurances indeed of friendly disposition received from all the powers with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed. But a cessation of the irregularities which had afflicted the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence; and strengthens at the same time, the hope that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candour, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurances for the future.

Among our Indian neighbours also a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails; and I am happy to inform you that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry, and of the household arts, have not been without success.—That they are becoming more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence for cloathing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing —And already we are able to announce that, instead of that constant diminution of numbers produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace with which we have been blessed, one only exception exists. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had come forward with demands unfounded either in right or in compact, and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply before a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The bey had already declared war in form. His cruisers were out. Two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded; and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger. One of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small schooner *Enterprize*, commanded by *lieut. Sterret*, which had gone out as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured, after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that ele-

ment, will I trust, be a testimony to the world, that it is not a want of that virtue which makes us seek their peace but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race ; and not to its destruction. Unauthorized by the constitution, without the sanction of Congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel being disabled from committing further hostilities, was liberated with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider whether, by authorizing measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on this subject, that in the exercise of the important function, confided by the constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary states was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty, by immediate measures for fulfilling them, to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from stipulation on their side. From the papers which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measure of their demands, or as guarding against the exercise of force upon our vessels within their power ; and to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are to reduce the ensuing rates of representation and taxation. You will perceive that the increase of numbers, during

the last ten years, proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than twenty two years. We contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country still remaining vacant within our limits, to the multiplication of men, susceptible of happiness, educated in the love of order, habituated to self government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances combined with the increase of numbers, have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption, in a ratio far beyond that of population alone : and though the changes in foreign relations, now taking place so desirably for the whole world, may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet, weighing all probabilities of expense, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence that we may now safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excises, stamps, auctions, licenses, carriages and refined sugars ; to which the postage on newspapers may be added to facilitate the progress of information ; and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interest of the public debts, and to discharge the principals in shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated. War, indeed, and untoward events may change this prospect of things, and call for expenses which the imposts could not meet. But sound principals will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not, perhaps, happen, but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of reducing our burdens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible, and at the same time, a salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expenditures. For this purpose those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revisal. When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states : that the states themselves have principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation; constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive : whether offices, and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay towards a statement of those who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial.—Among those who are dependent on executive discretion, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expenses of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution have been discontinued.—Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed, and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction. Other reformations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite, in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public offices is established by law, and therefore, by law alone can

be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and to try all its parts by the test of public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield. Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense to the ultimate term of burden which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge: that it never may be seen here that, after leaving to labour the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard.

In our care too of the public contributions entrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition; by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious and uniform.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, as prepared by the secretary of the treasury, will, as usual, be laid before you. The success which has attended the late sales of the public lands shows that, with attention, they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt, will show that the public faith has been exactly maintained. To these will be added an estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year. This last will, of course be af-

fectcd by such modifications of the system of expense as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the secretary at war, on mature consideration of all the posts and stations where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison. The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment. For the surplus no particular use can be pointed out. For defence against invasion, their number is as nothing: nor is it considered needful or safe that a standing army should be kept up, in time of peace, for that purpose. Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference where an enemy may choose to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighbouring citizens, as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the parts most convenient, in numbers proportioned to the invading force, it is best to rely not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until regulars may be engaged to relieve them. These considerations render it important that we should, at every session, continue to amend the defects, which from time to time show themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: nor should we now, or at any time, separate, until we can say we have done every thing for the militia, which we could do, were an enemy at our door.

The provision of military stores on hand will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our naval preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear: but just attention to the circumstances

of every part of the Union will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted for actual service in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum beyond that you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence calls them into use. Progress has been made as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for seventy-four gun ships as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the legislature for procuring and establishing sites for naval purposes, has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits of some doubt. A statement of the expenses already incurred on that subject shall be laid before you. I have in certain cases, suspended or slackened these expenditures that the legislature might determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated. The works at this place are among those permitted to go on: and five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here, where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the executive administration, as well as of its agents, and where yourselves also will be guided by your own view, in the legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary. They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels as whatever belongs to them; as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning. Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also into sound condition. As a superintending officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the executive, will be a more proper subject

for legislation. A communication will also be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbours more or less advanced present considerations of great difficulty. While some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection and the importance of the points within it others are so extensive, will cost so much in their first erection, so much in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced or projected, of the expenses already incurred, and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are then most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed. If in the course of your observations or inquiries, they should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention. We cannot, indeed, but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difficulties under which our carrying trade will soon be placed. How far it can be removed, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.

The judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of Congress; and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the in-

stitution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several states, and now lay before Congress, an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were brought into their aid.

And while on the judiciary organization, it will be worthy your consideration whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries has been extended to all the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value, we ought further to consider whether that is sufficiently secured to those states, where they are named by a marshal depending on executive will, or designated by the court, or by officers dependant on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it; and controls a policy pursued, from their first settlement, by many of these States, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The constitution, indeed has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required, sufficient to develop character and design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a bona fide purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us? with restrictions, perhaps, to guard against the fraudulent

usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavour should be spared to detect and suppress it.

These, fellow-citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought of importance to be submitted to your consideration at this time. Some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the Union. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment; nor to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence and temperance of your discussions will promote, within your own walls, that conciliation which so much befriends rational conclusion; and by its example, will encourage among our constituents that progress of opinion, which is tending to unite them in object and in will. That all should be satisfied with any one order of things, is not to be expected; but I indulge the pleasing persuasion that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their constitutional form and equilibrium; to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home; to establish principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and property, and to reduce expenses to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 15, 1802.

To the Senate and House of Representatives,
of the United States.

WHEN we assemble together, fellow citizens, to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that Being from whose favour they flow, and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty; another year is come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad; law, order, and religion at home; good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbours; our burdens lightened, yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These fellow citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet: and we remark, with special satisfaction, those which, under the smiles of Providence, result from the skill, industry, and order of our citizens. managing their own affairs in their own way, and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions.

On the restoration of peace in Europe that portion of the carrying trade, which had fallen to our share during the war was abridged by the returning competition of the belligerent powers. This was to be expected, and was just. But, in addition, we find in some parts of Europe, monopolizing discriminations, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities, and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will

produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.

It is with satisfaction I lay before you an act of the British parliament, anticipating this subject, so far as to authorize a mutual abolition of the duties and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of 1794. It shews on their part a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration.

Another circumstance which claims attention, as directly affecting the very source of our navigation, is the defect, or the evasion of the law providing for the return of seamen, and particularly of those belonging to vessels sold abroad. Numbers of them, discharged in foreign ports, have been thrown on the hands of our consuls, who, to rescue them from the dangers into which their distresses might plunge them, and save them to their country, have found it necessary in some cases, to return them at the public charge.

The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject.

There was reason, not long since, to apprehend that the warfare in which we were engaged with Tripoli might be taken up by some other of the Barbary powers. A

reinforcement, therefore, was immediately ordered to the vessels already there. Subsequent information, however, has removed these apprehensions for the present. To secure our commerce in that sea, with the smallest force competent, we have supposed it best to watch strictly the harbour of Tripoli. Still, however, the shallowness of their coast, and the want of smaller vessels on our part, has permitted some cruisers to escape unobserved: and to one of these an American vessel unfortunately fell a prey. The captain, one American seaman, and two others of colour remain prisoners with them: unless exchanged under an agreement formerly made with the bashaw, to whom, on the faith of that, some of his captive subjects had been restored.

The convention with the state of Georgia has been ratified by their legislature, and a re-purchase from the Creeks has been consequently made, of a part of the Talassee country. In this purchase has been also comprehended a part of the lands within the fork of the Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers. The particulars of the contract will be laid before Congress so soon as they shall be in a state for communication.

In order to remove every ground of difference possible with our Indian neighbours, I have proceeded in the work of settling with them, and making the boundaries between us. That with the Choctaw nation is fixed in one part, and will be through the whole within a short time. The country to which their title had been extinguished before the revolution is sufficient to receive a very respectable population, which Congress will probably see the expediency of encouraging, so soon as the limits shall be declared. We are to view this position as an outpost of the United States, surrounded by strong neighbours, and

distant from its support. And how far that monopoly, which prevents population, should here be guarded against, and actual habitation made a condition of the continuance of title, will be for your consideration. A prompt settlement too of all existing rights and claims within this territory, presents itself as a preliminary operation.

In that part of the Indiana territory which includes Vincennes, the line settled with the neighbouring tribes fix the extinction of their title at a breadth of twenty-four leagues from east to west, and about the same length, parallel with and including the Wabash. They have also ceded a tract of four miles square, including the Salt Springs, near the mouth of that river.

In the department of finance, it is with pleasure I inform you that the receipts of external duties, for the last twelve months have exceeded those of any former year, and that the ratio of increase has been also greater than usual. This has enabled us to answer all the regular exigencies of government, to pay from the treasury, within one year, upwards of eight millions of dollars principal and interest, of the public debt, exclusive of upwards of one million paid by the sale of bank stock, and making in the whole a reduction of nearly five millions and an half of principal, and to have now in the treasury four millions and an half of dollars, which are in a course of application to the further discharge of debt, and current demands. Experience, too, so far, authorizes us to believe if no extraordinary event supervenes, and the expenses which will be actually incurred shall not be greater than were contemplated by Congress at their last session, that we shall not be disappointed in the expectations then formed. But nevertheless as the effect of peace on the

amount of duties is not yet fully ascertained, it is the more necessary to practise every useful economy, and to incur no expense which may be avoided without prejudice.

The collection of the internal taxes having been completed in some of the states, the officers employed in it are of course out of commission. In others they will be so shortly; but in a few, where the arrangements for the direct tax had been retarded, it will still be some time before the system is closed. It has not yet been thought necessary to employ the agent authorized by an act of the last session, for transacting business in Europe relative to debts and loans. Nor have we used the power, confided by the same act, of prolonging the foreign debt by re-loans and of redeeming, instead thereof, an equal sum of the domestic debt. Should however the difficulties of remittance on so large a scale render it necessary at any time, the power shall be executed, and the money thus unemployed abroad shall, in conformity with that law, be faithfully applied here in an equivalent extinction of domestic debt. When effects so salutary result from the plans you have already sanctioned, when merely by avoiding false objects of expense, we are able, without a direct tax, without internal taxes, and without borrowing, to make large and effectual payments towards the discharge of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that mortal canker, it is an encouragement, fellow citizens, of the highest order, to proceed as we have begun in substituting economy for taxation, and in pursuing what is useful for a nation placed as we are, rather than what is practised by others under different circumstances. And whensoever we are destined to meet events which shall call forth all the energies of our countrymen, we

have the firmest reliance on those energies, and the comfort of leaving for calls like these the extraordinary resources of loans and internal taxes; in the mean time, by payments of the principal of our debt, we are liberating annually, portions of the external taxes, and forming from them a growing fund, still further to lessen the necessity of recurring to extraordinary resources.

The usual account of receipts and expenditures for the last year, with an estimate of the expenses of the ensuing one, will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury.

No change being deemed necessary in our military establishment, an estimate of its expenses for the ensuing year, on its present footing, as also the sums to be employed in fortifications, and other objects within that department, has been prepared by the Secretary at War, and will make a part of the general estimates which will be presented you.

Considering that our regular troops are employed for local purposes, and that the militia is our general reliance for great and sudden emergencies, you will doubtless think this institution worthy of a review, and give it those improvements of which you find it susceptible.

Estimates for the naval department, prepared by the Secretary of the Navy for another year, will in like manner be communicated with the general estimates. A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruisers: and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary powers may eventually require that force to be augmented. The necessity of procuring some smaller vessels for that service will raise the estimate: but the difference in their maintenance will soon make it a measure of economy.

Presuming it will be deemed expedient to expend annually a convenient sum towards providing the naval defence which our situation may require, I cannot but recommend that the first appropriations for that purpose may go to the saving what we already possess. No cares, no attentions, can preserve vessels from rapid decay, which lie in water, and exposed to the sun. These decays require great and constant repairs, and will consume, if continued, a great portion of the moneys destined to naval purposes. To avoid this waste of our resources, it is proposed to add to our navy yard here a dock, within which our present vessels may be laid up dry, and under cover from the sun. Under these circumstances experience proves that works of wood will remain scarcely at all affected by time. The great abundance of running water which this situation possesses, at heights far above the level of the tide, if employed as is practised for lock navigation, furnishes the means for raising and laying up our vessels on a dry and sheltered bed. And should the measure be found useful here, similar depositories for laying up, as well as for building and repairing vessels, may hereafter be undertaken at other navy yards, offering the same means. The plans and estimates of the work, prepared by a person of skill and experience, will be presented to you without delay, and from these it will be seen that scarcely more than has been the cost of one vessel is necessary to save the whole, and that the annual sum to be employed towards its completion may be adapted to the views of the legislature as to naval expenditure.

To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances;

to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practise with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burdens; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union, as the only rock of safety; these, fellow-citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make these our rule of action, we shall endear to our countrymen the true principles of their constitution and promote an union of sentiment and of action equally auspicious to their happiness and safety. On my part you may count on a cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good; and on all the information I possess which may enable you to discharge to advantage the high functions with which you are invested by your country.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, OCT. 17, 1803.

To the Senate and House of
Representatives of the United States.

IN calling you together, fellow-citizens, at an earlier day than was contemplated by the act of the last session of Congress, I have not been insensible to the personal inconveniences necessarily resulting from an unexpected change in your arrangements. But matters of great public concernment have rendered this call necessary, and the interest you feel in these, will supercede in your minds, all private considerations.

Congress witnessed, at their last session, the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind, by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made, according to treaty. They were sensible, that the continuance of that privation would be more injurious to our nation than any consequences which could flow from any mode of redress; but reposing just confidence in the good faith of the government, whose officer had committed the wrong, friendly and reasonable representations were resorted to, and the right of deposit was restored.

Previous, however, to this period, we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed, whilst so important a key to the commerce of the western country remained under foreign power. Difficulties too were presenting themselves as to the navigation of other streams, which, arising within our territories, pass through those adjacent. Propositions had

therefore been authorized for obtaining, on fair conditions, the sovereignty of New Orleans, and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet, to such extent as was deemed practicable ; and the provisional appropriation of two millions of dollars, to be applied and accounted for by the President of the United States, intended as a part of the price, was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened government of France saw, with just discernment, the importance, to both nations, of such liberal arrangements as might best and permanently promote the peace, interests, and friendship of both ; and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana, which had been restored to them, has, on certain conditions been transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last. When these shall have received the constitutional sanction of the Senate, they will, without delay, be communicated to the Representatives for the exercise of their functions, as to those conditions which are within the powers vested by the Constitution in Congress. Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the western states, and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers, and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.

With the wisdom of Congress it will rest, to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country ; for its incorporation into our Union ; for rendering the

change of government a blessing to our newly adopted brethren ; for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property ; for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self government, establishing friendly and commercial relations with them, and for ascertaining the geography of the country acquired. Such materials for your information, relative to its affairs in general, as the short space of time has permitted me to collect, will be laid before you when the subject shall be in a state for your consideration.

Another important acquisition of territory has also been made since the last session of Congress. The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, with which we have never had a difference, reduced by the wars and wants of savage life to a few individuals unable to defend themselves against the neighbouring tribes, has transferred its country to the United States, reserving only for its members what is sufficient to maintain them in an agricultural way. The considerations stipulated are, that we shall extend to them our patronage and protection, and give them certain annual aids, in money, in implements of agriculture, and other articles of their choice. This country, among the most fertile within our limits, extending along the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to, and up the Ohio, though not so necessary as a barrier since the acquisition of the other bank, may yet be well worthy of being laid open to immediate settlement, as its inhabitants may descend with rapidity in support of the lower country should future circumstances expose that to foreign enterprise. As the stipulations in this treaty also involve matters within the competence of both Houses only, it will be laid before Congress so soon as the Senate shall have advised its ratification.

With many of the other Indian tribes improvements in agriculture and household manufacture are advancing, and with all, our peace and friendship are established on grounds much firmer than heretofore. The measure adopted, of establishing trading houses among them, and of furnishing them necessaries in exchange for their commodities at such moderate prices as leave no gain, but cover us from loss, has the most conciliatory and useful effect on them, and is that which will best secure their peace and good will.

The small vessels authorized by Congress, with a view to the Mediterranean service, have been sent into that sea; and will be able more effectually to confine the Tripoline cruisers within their harbours, and supersede the necessity of convoy to our commerce in that quarter. They will sensibly lessen the expenses of that service the ensuing year.

A further knowledge of the ground, in the north-eastern and north-western angles of the United States, has evinced that the boundaries, established by the treaty of Paris, between the British territories and ours in those parts, were too imperfectly described to be susceptible of execution. It has therefore been thought worthy of attention, for preserving and cherishing the harmony and useful intercourse, subsisting between the two nations, to remove by timely arrangements, what unfavourable incidents might otherwise render a ground of future misunderstanding. A convention has therefore been entered into, which provides for a practicable demarcation of those limits to the satisfaction of both parties.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the year ending 30th September last, with the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, will be laid before you by the

Secretary of the Treasury, so soon as the receipts of the last quarter shall be returned from the more distant states. It is already ascertained that the amount paid into the treasury, for that year, has been between eleven and twelve millions of dollars, and that the revenue accrued during the same term, exceeds the sum counted on as sufficient for our current expenses, and to extinguish the public debt within the period heretofore proposed.

The amount of debt paid, for the same year, is about 3,100,000 dollars, exclusive of interest, and making with the payment of the preceding year, a discharge of more than eight millions and an half of dollars, of the principal of that debt, besides the accruing interest: and there remain in the treasury nearly six millions of dollars. Of these, 880,000 have been reserved for payment of the first instalment due under the British convention of January 8th, 1802, and two millions are what have been before mentioned as placed by Congress under the power and accountability of the President, towards the price of New Orleans and other territories acquired, which, remaining untouched, are still applicable to that object, and go in diminution of the sum to be funded for it.

Should the acquisition of Louisiana be constitutionally confirmed and carried into effect, a sum of nearly thirteen millions of dollars will then be added to our public debt, most of which is payable after fifteen years; before which term the present existing debts will all be discharged by the established operation of the sinking fund. When we contemplate the ordinary annual augmentation of impost, from increasing population and wealth, the augmentation of the same revenue, by its extension to the new acquisition, and the economies which may still be introduced into our public expenditures, I cannot but hope that Con-

gress, in reviewing their resources, will find means to meet the intermediate interest of this additional debt without recurring to new taxes : and applying to this object only the ordinary progression of our revenue, its extraordinary increase in times of foreign war, will be the proper and sufficient fund for any measures of safety or precaution, which that state of things may render necessary in our neutral position.

Remittances for the instalments of our foreign debt having been found practicable without loss, it has not been thought expedient to use the power, given by a former act of Congress, of continuing them by reloans, and of redeeming, instead thereof, equal sums of domestic debt, although no difficulty was found in obtaining that accommodation.

The sum of fifty thousand dollars, appropriated by Congress for providing gun boats, remain unexpended. The favourable and peaceable turn of affairs, on the Mississippi, rendered an immediate execution of that law unnecessary ; and time was desirable, in order that the institution of that branch of our force might begin on models the most approved by experience. The same issue of events dispensed with a resort to the appropriation of a million and a half of dollars, contemplated for purposes which were effected by happier means.

We have seen with sincere concern the flames of war lighted up again in Europe, and nations, with which we have the most friendly and useful relations, engaged in mutual destruction. While we regret the miseries in which we see others involved, let us bow with gratitude to that kind providence, which, inspiring with wisdom and moderation our late legislative councils, while placed under the urgency of the greatest wrongs, guarded us

from hastily entering into the sanguinary contest, and left us only to look on, and to pity its ravages. These will be heaviest on those immediately engaged. Yet the nations pursuing peace will not be exempt from all evil. In the course of this conflict, let it be our endeavour, as it is our interest and desire, to cultivate the friendship of the belligerent nations by every act of justice, and of innocent kindness; to receive their armed vessels with hospitality from the distresses of the sea, but to administer the means of annoyance to none; to establish in our harbours such a police as may maintain law and order; to restrain our citizens from embarking individually in a war, in which their country takes no part; to punish severely those persons, citizen or alien, who shall usurp the cover of our flag for vessels not entitled to it, infecting thereby with suspicion those of real Americans, and committing us into controversies for the redress of wrongs not our own; to exact from every nation the observance towards our vessels and citizens of those principles and practices which all civilized people acknowledge; to merit the character of a just nation, and maintain that of an independent one, preferring every consequence to insult and habitual wrong. Congress will consider whether the existing laws enable us efficaciously to maintain this course, with our citizens in all places, and with others, while within the limits of our jurisdiction; and will give them the new modifications necessary for these objects. Some contraventions of right have already taken place, both within our jurisdictional limits, and on the high seas. The friendly disposition of the governments from whose agents they have proceeded as well as their wisdom and regard for justice, leave us in reasonable expectation, that they will be rectified and prevented in future; and that no act will be countenanced

by them which threatens to disturb our friendly intercourse. Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe, and from the political interests which entangle them together, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them, and theirs to us, it cannot be the interest of any to assail us, nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise indeed, were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with, of pursuing, at a distance from foreign contentions, the paths of industry, peace and happiness: of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collisions of interest to the umpire of reason rather than of force. How desirable then must it be, in a government like ours, to see its citizens adopt individually the views, the interest and the conduct which their country should pursue, divesting themselves of those passions and partialities which tend to lessen useful friendships, and to embarrass and embroil us in the calamitous scenes of Europe. Confident, fellow-citizens, that you will duly estimate the importance of neutral dispositions towards the observance of neutral conduct, that you will be sensible how much it is our duty to look on the bloody arena spread before us with commiseration, indeed, but with no other wish than to see it closed, I am persuaded you will cordially cherish these dispositions, in all discussions among yourselves, and in all communications with your constituents; and I anticipate with satisfaction the measures of wisdom which the great interests, now committed to you, will give *you* an opportunity of providing, and *myself* that of approving and of carrying into execution with the fidelity I owe to my country.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 8, 1804.

To the Senate and House of Representatives,
of the United States.

To a people, fellow-citizens, who sincerely desire the happiness and prosperity of other nations, to those who justly calculate that their own well being is advanced by that of the nations with which they have intercourse, it will be a satisfaction to observe, that the war, which was lighted up in Europe, a little before our last meeting, has not yet extended its flames to other nations, nor been marked by the calamities which sometimes stain the footsteps of war. The irregularities too on the ocean, which generally harass the commerce of neutral nations, have, in distant parts, disturbed ours less than on former occasions. But, in the American seas, they have been greater from peculiar causes; and even within our harbours and jurisdiction, infringements on the authority of the laws have been committed, which have called for serious attention. The friendly conduct of the governments, from whose officers and subjects these acts have proceeded, in other respects, and in places more under their observation and control, gives us confidence, that our representation on this subject will have been properly regarded.

While noticing the irregularities committed on the ocean by others. those on our own part should not be omitted, nor left unprovided for. Complaints have been received, that persons, residing within the United States, have taken on themselves to arm merchant vessels, and to force a commerce into certain ports and countries in defiance

of the laws of those countries. That individuals should undertake to wage private war, independently of the authority of their country, cannot be permitted in a well ordered society. Its tendency to produce aggression on the laws and rights of other nations, and to endanger the peace of our own, is so obvious, that I doubt not you will adopt measures for restraining it effectually in future.

Soon after the passage of the act of the last session, authorizing the establishment of a district and port of entry on the waters of the Mobile, we learnt that its object was misunderstood on the part of Spain. Candid explanations were immediately given, and assurances that, reserving our claims in that quarter as a subject of discussion and arrangement with Spain, no act was mediated in the mean time inconsistent with the peace and friendship existing between the two nations; and that conformably to these intentions would be the execution of the law. That government had, however, thought proper to suspend the ratification of the convention of 1802. But the explanations which would reach them soon after, and still more the confirmation of them by the tenour of the instrument establishing the port and district, may reasonably be expected to replace them in the dispositions and views of the whole subject, which originally dictated the convention.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the objections which had been urged by that government, against the validity of our title to the country of Louisiana, have been withdrawn; its exact limits however remaining still to be settled between us. And to this is to be added, that having prepared and delivered the stock created in execution of the convention of Paris, of April 30, 1803, in consideration of the cession of that country, we have received from

the government of France an acknowledgment in due form of the fulfilment of that stipulation.

With the nations of Europe, in general our friendship and intercourse are undisturbed, and from the governments of the belligerent powers especially we continue to receive those friendly manifestations, which are justly due to an honest neutrality, and to such good offices consistent with that as we have opportunities of rendering.

The activity and success of the small force employed in the Mediterranean in the early part of the present year, the reinforcement sent into that sea, and the energy of the officers having command in the several vessels, will, I trust, by the sufferings of war reduce the barbarians of Tripoli to the desire of peace on proper terms. Great injury however ensues, to ourselves as well as to others interested, from the distance to which prizes must be brought for adjudication, and from the impracticability of bringing hither such as are not seaworthy.

The bey of Tunis having made requisitions unauthorized by our treaty, their rejection has produced from him some expressions of discontent. But to those who expect us to calculate whether a compliance with unjust demands will not cost us less than a war, we must leave as a question of calculation for them, also whether to retire from unjust demands will not cost them less than a war. We can do to each other very sensible injuries by war. But the mutual advantages of peace make that the best interest of both.

Peace and intercourse with the other powers on the same coast continue on the footing on which they are established by the treaty.

In pursuance of the act providing for the temporary government of Louisiana, the necessary officers for the

territory of Orleans were appointed in due time to commence the exercise of their functions on the first day of October. The distance however of some of them, and indispensable previous arrangements, may have retarded its commencement, in some of its parts, the form of government thus provided having been considered but as temporary, and open to such future improvements as further information of the circumstances of our brethren there might suggest, it will of course be subject to your consideration.

In the district of Louisiana it has been thought best to adopt the division into subordinate districts which had been established under its former government. These being five in number, a commanding officer has been appointed to each, according to the provisions of the law, and so soon as they can be at their stations, that district will also be in its due state of organization. In the mean time their places are supplied by the officers before commanding there; and the functions of the governor and judges of Indiana having commenced, the government, we presume, is proceeding in its new form. The lead mines in that territory offer so rich a supply of that metal as to merit attention. The report now communicated, will inform you of their state, and of the necessity of immediate inquiry into their occupation and titles.

With the Indian tribes established within our newly acquired limits, I have deemed it necessary to open conferences, for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighbourly relations between us. So far as we have yet learned, we have reason to believe that their dispositions are generally favorable and friendly, and with these dispositions on their part, we have in our own hands means which cannot fail us for preserving their peace and friend-

ship. By pursuing an uniform course of justice towards them, by aiding them in all the improvements which may better their condition, and especially by establishing a commerce on terms which shall be advantageous to them, and only not losing to us; and so regulated, as that no incendiaries of our own, or any other nation may be permitted to disturb the natural effects of our just and friendly offices, we may render ourselves so necessary to their comfort and prosperity, that the protection of our citizens from their disorderly members will become their interest and their voluntary care. Instead, therefore, of an augmentation of military force, proportioned to our extension of frontier, I propose a moderate enlargement of the capital employed in that commerce, as a more effectual economical, and humane instrument for preserving peace and good neighbourhood with them.

On this side the Mississippi an important relinquishment of native title has been received from the Delawares. That tribe, desiring to extinguish in their people the spirit of hunting, and to convert superfluous lands into the means of improving what they retain, have ceded to us all the country between the Wabash and Ohio, south of and including the road from the Rapids towards Vincennes; for which they are to receive annuities in animals and implements for agriculture, and in other necessities. This acquisition is important, not only for its extent and fertility, but as, fronting three hundred miles on the Ohio, and near half that on the Wabash, the produce of the settled country descending those rivers, will no longer pass in review of the Indian frontier, but in a small portion; and with the cession heretofore made by the Kaskaskias nearly consolidates our possession north of the Ohio, in a very respectable breadth from Lake Erie to the Mississippi. The

Piankishaws, having some claim to the country ceded by the Delawares, it has been thought best to quiet that by fair purchase also: So soon as the treaties on this subject shall have received their constitutional sanctions, they shall be laid before both Houses.

The act of Congress of February 28, 1803, for building and employing a number of gun boats is now in a course of execution, to the extent there provided for. The obstacle to naval enterprise which vessels of this construction offer for our seaport towns; their utility towards supporting, within our waters, the authority of the laws; the promptness with which they will be manned by the seamen and militia of the place, in the moment they are wanting; the facility of their assembling from different parts of the coast, to any point where they are required in greater force than ordinary; the economy of their maintenance and preservation from decay, when not in actual service; and the competence of our finances to this defensive provision, without any new burden, are considerations which will have due weight with Congress in deciding on the expediency of adding to their number, from year to year, as experience shall test their utility, until all our important harbours, by these and auxiliary means, shall be secured against insult and opposition to the laws.

No circumstance has arisen since your last session which calls for any augmentation of our regular military force. Should any improvement occur in the militia system, that will be always seasonable.

Accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, with estimates for the ensuing one, will, as usual, be laid before you.

The state of our finances continues to fulfil our expectation. Eleven millions and an half, received in the course of the last year, ending on the 30th of Sept. last, have enabled us after meeting all the ordinary expenses of the year, to pay 3,600,000 dollars of the principal of the public debt. This payment with those of the two preceding years, has extinguished upwards of twelve millions of the principal, and a greater sum of interest, within that period; and by a proportionate diminution of interest, renders already sensible the effect of the growing sum yearly applicable to the discharge of the principal.

It is also ascertained that the revenue accrued during the last year, exceeds that of the preceding; and the probable receipts of the ensuing year, may safely be relied on as sufficient, with the sum in the treasury, to meet all the current demands of the year, to discharge upwards of three millions and an half of the engagements incurred under the British and French conventions, and to advance in the further redemption of the funded debt, as rapidly as had been contemplated. These, fellow-citizens, are the principal matters which I have thought it necessary at this time, to communicate for your consideration and attention. Some others will be laid before you in the course of the session; but, in the discharge of the great duties confided to you by our country, you will take a broader view of the field of legislation. Whether the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or navigation, can within the pale of your constitutional powers, be aided in any of their relations? whether laws are provided in all cases where they are wanting? whether those provided are exactly what they should be? whether any abuses take place in their administration, or in that of the public revenues? whether the organization of the

public agents, or of the public force, is perfect in all its parts? in fine, whether any thing can be done to advance the general good are questions within the limits of your functions, which will necessarily occupy your attention. In these and all other matters, which you in your wisdom may propose for the good of our country, you may count with assurance on my hearty co-operation, and faithful execution.

TH: JEFFERSON.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
FOURTH OF MARCH, 1805.

PROCEEDING, fellow-citizens, to that qualification which the constitution requires, before my entrance on the charge again conferred on me, it is my duty to express the deep sense I entertain of this new proof of confidence from my fellow-citizens at large, and the zeal with which it inspires me, so to conduct myself as may best satisfy their just expectations.

On taking this station on a former occasion, I declared the principles on which I believed it my duty to administer the affairs of our commonwealth. My conscience tells me that I have, on every occasion, acted up to that declaration, according to its obvious import, and to the understanding of every candid mind.

In the transaction of your foreign affairs, we have endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations. We have done them justice on all occasions, favoured where favour was lawful, and cherished mutual interests and intercourse on fair and equal terms. We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations, as with individuals, our interests soundly calculated will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties; and history bears witness to the fact, that a just nation is trusted on its word, when resource is had to armaments and wars to bridle others.

At home, fellow-citizens, you best know whether we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless establishments and expenses, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These covering our land with officers, and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation, which, once entered, is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of produce and property. If among these taxes some minor ones fell which had not been inconvenient, it was because their amount would not have paid the officers who collected them, and because if they had any merit, the state authorities might adopt them, instead of others less approved.

The remaining revenue on the consumption of foreign articles, is paid cheerfully by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts, being collected on our seaboard and frontiers only, and incorporated with the transactions of our mercantile citizens, it may be the pleasure and the pride of an American to ask—what farmer—what mechanic—what labourer, ever sees a tax-gatherer of the United States?—These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the government, to fulfil contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts, as places at a short day their final redemption, and that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just repartition among the states, and a corresponding amendment of the constitution, be applied, *in time of peace*, to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each state. *In time of war*, if injustice by ourselves or others, must

sometimes produce war, increased as the same revenue will be increased by population and consumption, and aided by other resources reserved for that crisis, it may meet within the year all the expenses of the year, without encroaching on the rights of future generations by burdening them with the debts of the past. War will then be but a suspension of useful works, and a return to a state of peace, a return to the progress of improvement.

I have said, fellow-citizens, that the income reserved had enabled us to extend our limits; but that extension may possibly pay for itself before we are called on, and in the mean time may keep down the accruing interest; in all events it will replace the advances we have made; I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association the less will it be shaken by local passions; and in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family? With which shall we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse.

In matters of religion, I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the constitution independent of the powers of the general government. I have therefore undertaken, on no occasion, to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it; but have left them, as the constitution found them, under the direction and discipline of state or church authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.

The aboriginal inhabitants of these countries I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing population from other regions directed itself on these shores ; without power to divert or habits to contend against, they have been overwhelmed by the current, or driven before it ; now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter's state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts ; to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence, and to prepare them in time for that state of society, which to bodily comforts adds the improvement of the mind and morals. We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use ; we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity ; and they are covered with the ægis of the law against aggressors from among ourselves.

But the endeavours to enlighten them on the fate which awaits their present course of life, to induce them to exercise their reason, follow its dictates and change their pursuits with the change of circumstances, have powerful obstacles to encounter ; they are combatted by the habits of their bodies, prejudice of their minds, ignorance, pride, and the influence of interested and crafty individuals among them, who feel themselves something in the present order of things, and fear to become nothing in any other. These persons inculcate a sanctimonious reverence for the customs of their ancestors ; that whatsoever they did must be done through all time ; that reason is a false guide, and to advance under its council in their

physical, moral, or political condition, is perilous innovation ; that their duty is to remain as their creator made them, ignorance being safety, and knowledge full of danger ; in short, my friends, among them is seen the action and counteraction of good sense and bigotry ; they too have their anti-philosophers, who find an interest in keeping things in their present state, who dread reformation, and exert all their faculties to maintain the ascendancy of habit over the duty of improving our reason and obeying its mandates.

In giving these outlines, I do not mean, fellow-citizens, to arrogate to myself the merit of the measures ; that is due in the first place to the reflecting character of our citizens at large, who, by the weight of public opinion, influence and strengthen the public measures ; it is due to the sound discretion with which they select from among themselves those to whom they confide the legislative duties ; it is due to the zeal and wisdom of the characters thus selected, who lay the foundations of public happiness in wholesome laws, the execution of which alone remains for others ; and it is due to the able and faithful auxiliaries, whose patriotism has associated with me in the executive functions.

During this course of administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness, and to sap its safety ; they might indeed have been corrected by the wholesome punishments reserved and provided by the laws of the several states against falsehood and defamation ; but public duties more urgent press on the time of

public servants, and the offenders have therefore been left to find their punishment in the public indignation.

Nor was it uninteresting to the world that an experiment should be fairly and fully made, whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth :—Whether a government, conducting itself in the true spirit of its constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the whole world should witness, can be written down by falsehood and defamation—the experiment has been tried,—you have witnessed the scene—our fellow-citizens have looked on, cool and collected—they saw the latent source from which these outrages proceeded ; they gathered around their public functionaries, and when the constitution called them to the decision by suffrage, they pronounced their verdict, honourable to those who had served them, and consolatory to the friend of man, who believes he may be entrusted with his own affairs.

No inference is here intended, that the laws, provided by the state against false and defamatory publications, should not be enforced ; he who has time renders a service to public morals and public tranquillity, in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law ; but the experiment is noted to prove, that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth, needs no other legal restraint ; the public judgment will correct false reasonings and opinions on a full hearing of all parties ; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press and its demoralizing licentiousness. If there be still improprieties which this rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion.

Contemplating the union of sentiment now manifested so generally, as auguring harmony and happiness to our future course, I offer to our country sincere congratulations. With those too, not yet rallied to the same point, the disposition to do so is gaining strength; facts are piercing through the veil drawn over them; and our doubting brethren will at length see, that the mass of their fellow-citizens with whom they cannot yet resolve to act, as to principles and measures, think as they think, and desire what they desire; that our wish, as well as theirs, is that the public efforts may be directed honestly to the public good, that peace be cultivated, civil and religious liberty unassailed, law and order preserved, equality of rights maintained, and that state of property equal or unequal which results to every man from his own industry or that of his fathers. When satisfied of these views, it is not in human nature that they should not approve and support them; in the mean time let us cherish them with patient affection; let us do them justice, and more than justice, in all competitions of interest; and we need not doubt the truth, reason, and their own interests, will at length prevail, will gather them into the fold of their country, and will complete their entire union of opinion, which gives to a nation the blessing of harmony, and the benefit of all its strength.

I shall now enter on the duties to which my fellow-citizens have again called me; and shall proceed in the spirit of those principles which they have approved. I fear not that any motives of interest may lead me astray; I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice; but the weakness of human nature and the limits of my own understanding will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurious to your

interests ; I shall need therefore all the indulgence I have heretofore experienced—the want of it will certainly not lessen with increasing years. I shall need too the favour of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life ; who has covered our infancy with his Providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power ; and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship and approbation of all nations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 3, 1805.

To the Senate and House of Representatives,
of the United States.

At a moment when the nations of Europe are in commotion and arming against each other, when those with whom we have principal intercourse are engaged in the general contest, and when the countenance of some of them towards our peaceable country, threatens that even that may not be unaffected by what is passing on the general theatre, a meeting of the representatives of the nation, to both houses of Congress, has become more than usually desirable. Coming from every section of our country, they bring with them the sentiments and the information of the whole, and will be enabled to give a direction to the public affairs which the will and the wisdom of the whole will approve and support. In taking a view of the state of our country, we, in the first place notice the late affliction of two of our cities, under the fatal fever, which in latter times has occasionally visited our shores. Providence, in his goodness gave it an early termination on this occasion and lessened the number of victims which have usually fallen before it. In the course of the several visitations by this disease, it has appeared to be strictly local, incident to cities and on the tide waters only, incommunicable in the country, either by persons under the disease, or by goods carried from diseased places; that its access is with the autumn, and it disappears with the early frosts. These restrictions, within narrow limits of time and space, give security, even to our maritime cities, during three-

fourths of the year, and to the country always ; although from these facts it appears unnecessary, yet, to satisfy the fears of foreign nations, and cautions on their part not to be complained of, in a danger whose limits are yet unknown to them, I have strictly enjoined on the officers at the head of the customs to certify with exact truth, for every vessel sailing for a foreign port, the state of health respecting this fever which prevails at the place from which she sails. Under every motive from character and duty to certify the truth, I have no doubt they have faithfully executed this injunction. Much real injury has however been sustained from a propensity to identify with this endemic, and to call by the same name, fevers of very different kinds, which have been known at all times and in all countries, and never have been placed among those deemed contagious. As we advance to our knowledge of this disease, as facts develop the source from which individuals receive it, the state authorities charged with the care of the public health, and Congress with that of the general commerce, will become able to regulate with effect their respective functions in these departments. The burden of quarantines is felt at home as well abroad ; their efficacy merits examination. Although the health laws of the states should be found to need no present revision by Congress, yet commerce claims that their attention be ever awake to them.

Since our last meeting, the aspect of our foreign relations has considerably changed. Our coasts have been infested, and our harbours watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others, with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured in the very entrance

of our harbours, as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends, coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication, but, not daring to approach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, or in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them, maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats, in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering. These enormities appearing to be unreachd by any control of their sovereigns, I found it necessary to equip a force, to cruise within our own seas, to arrest all vessels of these descriptions found hovering on our coasts, within the limits of the Gulf Stream, and to bring the offenders in for trial as pirates.

The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbours under colour of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles too have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice, nor the usage or acknowledgment of nations. According to these a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral on the ground of its aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such an inconsistency; and the neutral having equal right with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty of maintaining the authority of reason, the only umpire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. Indeed the confidence we ought to have in the justice of others still countenances the hope, that a sounder view of those rights will of itself

induce from every belligerent a more correct observance of them.

With Spain our negotiations for a settlement of differences have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formally acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated but on conditions affecting other claims in no wise connected with them. Yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. On the Mobile, our commerce, passing through that river, continues to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana have not been acceded to. While however the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in the disputed territories, in the hope that the other power would not, by a contrary conduct, oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controlled. But in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence. Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi. Our citizens have been seized and their property plundered in the very parts of the former, which had been actually delivered up by Spain; and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have, therefore, found it necessary at length to give orders to our troops on that frontier to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future. Other details necessary for your full information of the state of things between this country and that, shall be the subject of another communication.

In reviewing these injuries from some of the belligerent powers, the moderation, the firmness, and the wisdom of the legislature will all be called into action. We ought still to hope, that time and a more correct estimate of interest, as well as of character, will produce the justice we are bound to expect.

But should any nation deceive itself by false calculations, and disappoint that expectation, we must join in the unprofitable contest of trying which party can do the other the most harm. Some of these injuries may perhaps admit a peaceable remedy. Where that is competent, it is always the most desirable. But some of them are of a nature to be met by force only, and all of them may lead to it. I cannot therefore but recommend such preparations as circumstances call for. The first object is to place our sea port towns out of the danger of insult. Measures have already been taken for furnishing them with heavy cannon, for the service of such land batteries as may make a part of their defence against armed vessels approaching them. In aid of these, it is desirable we should have a competent number of gun-boats: and the number to be competent, must be considerable. If immediately begun, they may be in readiness for service at the opening of the next season. Whether it will be necessary to augment our land forces, will be decided by occurrences probably in the course of your session. In the meantime you will consider whether it would not be expedient for a state of peace as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia as would enable us, on a sudden emergency to call for the services of the younger portions, unincumbered with the old, and those having families. Upwards of three hundred thousand able bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six

years, which the last census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offence or defence, in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces, after the necessity of them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service cannot but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present, as well as future times; inasmuch as it engages to them, in more advanced age, a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families. I cannot then but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system, as by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it, when necessary, an efficient corps, fit for real and active service, and to be called to in regular rotation.

Considerable provision has been made, under former authorities from Congress, of materials for the construction of ships of war of 74 guns: these materials are on hand, subject to the further will of the legislature.

An immediate prohibition of the exportation of arms and ammunition is also submitted to your determination.

Turning from these unpleasant views of violence and wrong, I congratulate you on the liberation of our fellow citizens, who were stranded on the coast of Tripoli, and made prisoners of war. In a government bottomed on the will of all, the life and liberty of every individual citizen becomes interesting to all. In the treaty, therefore, which has concluded our warfare with that state, an article for the ransom of our citizens have been agreed to. An operation by land by a small band of our countrymen, and others engaged for the occasion, in conjunction with the troops of the ex-bashaw of that country, gallantly conducted by our late consul Eaton, and their successful

enterprise on the city of Derne, contributed doubtless to the impression which produced peace ; and the conclusion of this prevented opportunities, of which the officers and men of our squadron destined for Tripoli would have availed themselves, to emulate the acts of valour exhibited by their brethren in the attack of the last year. Reflecting with high satisfaction on the distinguished bravery displayed whenever occasions permitted in the late Mediterranean service, I think it would be an useful encouragement, as well as a just reward, to make an opening for some present promotion, by enlarging our peace establishment of captains and lieutenants.

With Tunis some misunderstandings have arisen not yet sufficiently explained ; but friendly discussions with their ambassador, recently arrived, and a mutual disposition to do whatever is just and reasonable, cannot fail of dissipating these. So that we may consider our peace, on that coast generally, to be on as sound a footing as it has been at any preceding time. Still it will not be expedient to withdraw immediately the whole of our force from that sea.

The law providing for a naval peace establishment fixes the number of frigates which shall be kept in constant service in time of peace, and prescribes that they shall be manned by not more than two thirds of their complement of seamen and ordinary seamen. Whether a frigate may be trusted to two thirds only of her proper complement of men, must depend on the nature of the service on which she is ordered ; that may sometimes for her safety, as well as to ensure her object require her fullest complement. In adverting to this subject, Congress will perhaps consider whether the best limitation on the executive discretion in this case would not be, by the number of seamen

which may be employed in the whole service, rather than by the number of vessels. Occasions oftner arise for the employment of small than of large vessels, and it would lessen risk as well as expense to be authorized to employ them of preference; the limitation suggested by the number of seamen would admit a selection of vessels best adapted to the service.

Our Indian neighbours are advancing, many of them with spirit, and others beginning to engage, in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture. They are becoming sensible that the earth yields subsistence with less labour and more certainty than the forest, and find it their interest from time to time to dispose of parts of their surplus and waste lands for the means of improving those they occupy, and of subsisting their families while they are preparing their farms. Since your last session the northern tribes have sold to us the lands between the Connecticut reserve and the former Indian boundary; and those on the Ohio, from the same boundary to the Rapids, and for a considerable depth inland. The Chickasaws and Cherokees have sold us the country between, and, adjacent to, the two districts of Tennessee; and the Creeks, the residue of their lands in the fork of Ocmulgee, up to the Ulcofauhatche. The three former purchases are important, inasmuch as they consolidate disjoined parts of our settled country, and render their intercourse secure; and the second particularly so, as, with the small point on the river which we expect is by this time ceded by the Piankeshaws, it completes our possession of the whole of both banks of the Ohio, from its source to near its mouth, and the navigation of that river is thereby rendered for ever safe to our citizens settled and settling on its extensive waters. The purchase

from the Creeks too has been for some time peculiarly interesting to the state of Georgia.

The several treaties which have been mentioned will be submitted to both houses of Congress for the exercise of their respective functions.

Deputations now on their way to the seat of government from various nations of Indians, inhabiting the Missouri and other parts beyond the Mississippi, come charged with assurances of their satisfaction with the new relations in which they are placed with us, of their dispositions to cultivate our peace and friendship, and their desire to enter into commercial intercourse with us.

A state of our progress in exploring the principal rivers of that country, and of the information respecting them hitherto obtained, will be communicated as soon as we shall receive some further relations which we have reason shortly to expect.

The receipts at the treasury during the year ending on the 30th day of September last have exceeded the sum of thirteen millions of dollars, which, with not quite five millions in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting other demands, to pay nearly two millions of the debt contracted under the British treaty and convention, upwards of four millions of principal of the public debt, and four millions of interest. These payments, with those which had been made in three years and an half preceding, have extinguished of the funded debt nearly eighteen millions of principal.

Congress, by their act of November 10, 1803, authorized us to borrow 1,750,000 dollars towards meeting the claims of our citizens assumed by the convention with France. We have not however made use of this authority: because the sum of four millions and an half, which

remained in the treasury on the same 30th day of September last, with the receipts which we may calculate on for the ensuing year, besides paying the annual sum of eight millions of dollars, appropriated to the funded debt, and meeting all the current demands which may be expected, will enable us to pay the whole sum of three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, assumed by the French convention, and still leave us a surplus of nearly a million of dollars at our free disposal. Should you concur in the provisions of arms and armed vessels recommended by the circumstances of the times, this surplus will furnish the means of doing so.

On this first occasion of addressing Congress, since by the choice of my constituents, I have entered on a second term of administration, I embrace the opportunity to give this public assurance that I will exert my best endeavours to administer faithfully the executive department, and will zealously co-operate with you in every measure which may tend to secure the liberty, property, and personal safety of our fellow-citizens, and to consolidate the republican forms, and principles of our government.

In the course of your session you shall receive all the aid which I can give for the despatch of the public business, and all the information necessary for your deliberations, of which the interests of our own country and the confidence reposed in us by others will admit a communication.

TH : JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 2, 1806.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States of America, in Congress assembled,

It would have given me, fellow citizens, great satisfaction, to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of your last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions as, in the event of failure could leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays which have since taken place in our negotiations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue. What will be that of the negotiations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which had taken place, at the date of the last despatches, enables us to pronounce. On the western side of the Mississippi she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayou Pierre, on the Red river. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed at the moment of redelivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men which had been stationed there. A proposition however having been lately made, by our commander

in chief, to assume the Sabine river as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negotiations shall be known, this has been referred by the Spanish commandant to his superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the western side of the Sabine river. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit more particularly the present state of things in that quarter.

The nature of that country requires indispensably that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry or mounted infantry. In order therefore that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorized him to call on the governors of Orleans and Mississippi for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangement he has proposed may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you with great pleasure of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the Union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously under all circumstances which may occur.

Having received information that in another part of the United States a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organizing themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprise, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting and bringing to justice its authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to

be the rule of action in public, as well as in private transactions, it was due to good order, and regular government, that, while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals to decide, for their country, the question of peace or war, by commencing active, and unauthorized hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed.

Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force will depend on the result of our negotiations with Spain: but as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening in that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration.

The possession of both banks of the Mississippi, reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide, for that point, a more adequate security. Some position above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force, attempting to pass. The approaches to the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Mississippi within reach of New Orleans will be worthy the consideration of the legislature.

The gun-boats, authorized by an act of the last session are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a

much larger number will still be wanting to place our sea-port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation for a further provision for them is recommended for the ensuing year.

A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea-port towns, or their remaining before them.

In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people, directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature, are renewed by them at short periods, where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not be supposed that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection, or enterprise, on the public peace or authority. The laws, however aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishment for these crimes when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprise is meditated by private individuals, against a foreign nation, in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws: would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprise preparing is against the United States? While adverting to this branch of law it is proper to observe, that in enter-

prises meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.

The states on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed at present to respect our peace and friendship: with Tunis alone, some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement into the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall shew it to be unnecessary.

We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere concern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith, which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward in their peace and friendship.

The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descending the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, ascertained with accuracy the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learnt the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants, and it is but justice to say that Messrs.

Lewis and Clark, and their brave companions, have by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.

The attempt to explore the Red river, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return without completing their work.

Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Mississippi, by lieut. Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both houses of Congress. Those of Messrs. Lewis, Clarke, and Freeman will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers remain however still to be explored, towards which the authorization of Congress, by moderate appropriations, will be requisite.

I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to

prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.

The receipts of the treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana, to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the present month, near two millions of five and an half per cent stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which had been made in the four years and an half preceding, will, at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty-three millions of principal.

The duties composing the Mediterranean fund, will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering however that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time, after which that also will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation.

When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of moneys in the treasury, beyond the instalments of public debt which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our

revenues, the most desirable of all objects : Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question therefore now comes forward, to what other objects shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them ? Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures ? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right, but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations new channels of communication will be opened between the states ; the lines of separation will disappear ; their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hand of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal ; but a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country and some of them to its preservation. The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because if approved, by the time the state legislatures shall have de-

liberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall be passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment to the constitution, by consent of the states, necessary ; because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied.

The present consideration of a national establishment for education particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that, if Congress approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes, the resources destined for them.

This, fellow-citizens, is the state of the public interests at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such too the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session or after you shall have separated. Our duty is therefore to act upon things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace, in pre-

parations for the defence of our seaport towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of our country, a militia so organized that its effective portions can be called to any point in the Union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying on our resources until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests, while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements, in its outset, will go towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.

The result of our negotiations, or such incidents in their course as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also, on our western frontiers as may shew whether war is to be pressed there, while negotiation is proscribed elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me; with whatever other information I possess or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, OCT. 27, 1807.

To the Senate and House of
Representatives, of the United States,

CIRCUMSTANCES, fellow-citizens, which seriously threatened the peace of our country, have made it a duty to convene you at an earlier period than usual. The love of peace so much cherished in the bosom of our citizens, which has so long guided the proceedings of their public councils, and induced forbearance under so many wrongs, may not ensure our continuance in the quiet pursuits of industry. The many injuries and depredations committed on our commerce and navigation upon the high seas for years past, the successive innovations on those principles of public law which have been established by the reason and usage of nations as the rule of their intercourse, and the umpire and security of their rights and peace, and all the circumstances which induced the extraordinary mission to London, are already known to you. The instructions given to our ministers were framed in the sincerest spirit of amity and moderation. They accordingly proceeded, in conformity therewith, to propose arrangements which might embrace and settle all the points in difference between us, which might bring us to a mutual understanding on our neutral and national rights, and provide for a commercial intercourse on conditions of some equality. After long and fruitless endeavours to effect the purposes of their mission, and to obtain arrangements within the limits of their instructions, they concluded to sign such as could be obtained

and to send them for consideration : candidly declaring to the other negotiators, at the same time, that they were acting against their instructions, and that the government therefore could not be pledged for ratification. Some of the articles proposed might have been admitted on a principle of compromise, but others were too highly disadvantageous ; and no sufficient provision was made against the principal source of the irritations and collisions which were constantly endangering the peace of the two nations. The question therefore whether a treaty should be accepted in that form could have admitted but of one decision, even had no declarations of the other party impaired our confidence in it. Still anxious not to close the door against friendly adjustment, new modifications were framed, and further concessions authorized than could before have been supposed necessary : and our ministers were instructed to resume their negotiations on these grounds. On this new reference to amicable discussion we were reposing in confidence, when on the 22d day of June last, by a formal order from a British admiral, the frigate Chesapeake, leaving her port for a distant service, was attacked by one of those vessels which had been lying in our harbours under the indulgences of hospitality, was disabled from proceeding, had several of her crew killed, and four taken away. On this outrage no commentaries are necessary. Its character has been pronounced by the indignant voice of our citizens with an emphasis and unanimity never exceeded. I immediately, by proclamation interdicted our harbours and waters to all British armed vessels, forbade intercourse with them, and uncertain how far hostilities were intended, and the town of Norfolk indeed being threatened with immediate attack, a sufficient force was ordered for the protection of that place, and

such other preparations commenced and pursued as the prospect rendered proper. An armed vessel of the United States was despatched with instructions to our ministers at London, to call on that government for the satisfaction and security required by the outrage. A very short interval ought now to bring the answer which shall be communicated to you as soon as received : then also, or as soon after as the public interests shall be found to admit, the unratified treaty and proceedings relative to it, shall be made known to you.

The aggression, thus begun, has been continued on the part of the British commanders, by remaining within our waters in defiance of the authority of the country, by habitual violations of its jurisdiction, and at length by putting to death one of the persons whom they had forcibly taken from on board the Chesapeake. These aggravations necessarily lead to the policy either of never admitting an armed vessel into our harbours, or of maintaining in every harbour such an armed force as may constrain obedience to the laws, and protect the lives and property of our citizens against their armed guests. But the expense of such a standing force, and its inconsistency with our principles, dispense with those courtesies which would necessarily call for it, and leave us equally free to exclude the navy, as we are the army of a foreign power from entering our limits.

To former violations of maritime rights, another is now added of very extensive effect. The government of that nation has issued an order interdicting all trade by neutrals between ports not in amity with them. And being now at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, our vessels are required to sacrifice their cargoes at the first port they touch, or to return home

without the benefit of going to any other market. Under this new law of the ocean, our trade on the Mediterranean has been swept away by seizures and condemnations, and that in other seas is threatened with the same fate.

Our differences with Spain remain still unsettled; no measure having been taken on her part, since my last communications to Congress, to bring them to a close. But under a state of things which may favour reconsideration, they have been recently pressed, and an expectation is entertained that they may now soon be brought to an issue of some sort. With their subjects on our borders no new collisions have taken place, nor seem immediately to be apprehended. To our former grounds of complaint has been added a very serious one, as you will see by the decree, a copy of which is now communicated. Whether this decree, which professes to be conformable to that of the French government of November 21, 1806, heretofore communicated to Congress, will also be conformed to that in its construction and application in relation to the United States, had not been ascertained at the date of our last communications. These however gave reason to expect such a conformity.

With the other nations of Europe our harmony has been uninterrupted, and commerce and friendly intercourse have been maintained on their usual footing.

Our peace with the several states on the coast of Barbary appears as firm as at any former period, and as likely to continue as that of any other nation.

Among our Indian neighbours in the north western quarter, some fermentation was observed soon after the late occurrences threatening the continuance of our peace.

Messages were said to be interchanged, and tokens to be passing which usually denote a state of restlessness among them, and the character of the agitators pointed to the sources of excitement. Measures were immediately taken for providing against that danger: instructions were given to require explanations, and, with assurances of our continued friendship, to admonish the tribes to remain quiet at home, taking no part in quarrels not belonging to them. As far as we are yet informed, the tribes in our vicinity who are most advanced in the pursuits of industry, are sincerely disposed to adhere to their friendship with us, and to their peace with all others. While those more remote do not present appearances sufficiently quiet to justify the intermission of military precaution on our part.

The great tribes on our south western quarter, much advanced beyond the others in agriculture and household arts, appear tranquil and identifying their views with ours, in proportion to their advancements. With the whole of these people, in every quarter, I shall continue to inculcate peace and friendship with all their neighbours, and perseverance in those occupations and pursuits which will best promote their own well being.

The appropriations of the last session, for the defence of our sea-port towns and harbours, were made under expectation that a continuance of our peace would permit us to proceed in that work according to our convenience. It has been thought better to apply the sums then given towards the defence of New York, Charleston, and New Orleans chiefly, as most open and most likely first to need protection; and to leave places less immediately in danger to the provisions of the present session.

The gun-boats too already provided have on a like principle, been chiefly assigned to New York, New Orleans and the Chesapeake. Whether our moveable force on the water so material in aid of the defensive works on the land, should be augmented in this or any other form, is left to the wisdom of the legislature. For the purpose of manning these vessels, in sudden attacks on our harbours, it is a matter for consideration whether the seamen of the United States may not justly be formed into a special militia to be called on for tours of duty in defence of the harbours where they shall happen to be ; the ordinary militia of the place furnishing that portion which may consist of landsmen.

The moment our peace was threatened I deemed it indispensable to secure a greater provision of those articles of military stores, with which our magazines were not sufficiently furnished. To have awaited a previous and special sanction by law, would have lost occasions which might not be retrieved. I did not hesitate therefore to authorize engagements for such supplements to our existing stock, as would render it adequate to the emergencies threatening us : and I trust that the legislature feeling the same anxiety for the safety of our country so materially advanced by this precaution, will approve when done, what they would have seen so important to be done, if then assembled. Expenses, also unprovided for, arose out of the necessity of calling all our gun boats into actual service for the defence of our harbours ; of all which accounts will be laid before you.

Whether a regular army is to be raised, and to what extent must depend on the information so shortly expected. In the mean time I have called on the states for quotas of militia, to be in readiness for present defence ;

and have moreover encouraged the acceptance of volunteers, and I am happy to inform you that these have offered themselves with great alacrity in every part of the Union. They are ordered to be organized, and ready at a moments warning, to proceed on any service to which they may be called, and every preparation within the executive powers has been made to ensure us the benefit of early exertions.

I informed Congress, at their last session, of the enterprises against the public peace, which were believed to be in preparation by Aaron Burr and his associates, of the measures taken to defeat them, and to bring the offenders to justice. Their enterprises were happily defeated, by the patriotic exertions of the militia, whenever called into action, by the fidelity of the army, and energy of the commander in chief, in promptly arranging the difficulties presenting themselves on the Sabine, repairing to meet those arising on the Mississippi, and dissipating before their explosion, plots engendering there: I shall think it my duty to lay before you the proceedings, and the evidence publicly exhibited on the arraignment of the principal offenders before the district court of Virginia. You will be enabled to judge whether the defect was in the testimony, in the law, or in the administration of the law, and wherever it shall be found the legislature alone can apply or originate the remedy. The framers of our constitution certainly supposed they had guarded, as well their government against destruction by treason, as their citizens against oppression, under pretence of it, and if these ends are not attained, it is of importance to inquire by what means more effectual, they may be secured.

The accounts of the receipts of revenue during the year ending on the thirtieth day of September last, being not yet made up, a correct statement will be hereafter transmitted from the treasury. In the mean time it is ascertained that the receipts have amounted to near sixteen millions of dollars; which with the five millions and an half in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands and interest incurred, to pay more than four millions of the principal of our funded debt. These payments with those of the preceding five and a half years, have extinguished of the funded debt twenty-five millions and a half of dollars, being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law, and of our contracts, and have left us in the treasury eight millions and a half of dollars. A portion of this sum may be considered as a commencement of accumulation of the surplusses of revenue, which after paying the instalments of debt, as they shall become payable, will remain without any specific object. It may partly indeed be applied towards completing the defence of the exposed points of our country, on such a scale as shall be adapted to our principles and circumstances. This object is doubtless among the first entitled to attention, in such a state of our finances, and it is one which, whether we have peace or war, will provide security where it is due. Whether what shall remain of this, with the future surplusses, may be usefully applied to purposes already authorized, or more usefully to others requiring new authorities, or how otherwise they shall be disposed of, are questions calling for the notice of Congress: unless indeed they shall be superseded by a change in our public relations, now awaiting the determination of others. Whatever be

that determination, it is a great consolation that it will become known at a moment when the supreme council of the nation is assembled at its post and ready to give the aids of its wisdom and authority to whatever course the good of our country shall then call us to pursue.

Matters of minor importance will be the subjects of future communications, and nothing shall be wanting on my part which may give information or despatch to the proceedings of the legislature in the exercise of their high duties, and at a moment so interesting to the public welfare.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 8, 1808.

To the Senate and House of

Representatives of the United States.

IT would have been a source, fellow-citizens, of much gratification, if our last communications from Europe had enabled me to inform you, that the belligerent nations, whose disregard of neutral rights has been so destructive to our commerce, had become awakened to the duty and true policy of revoking their unrighteous edicts. That no means might be omitted to produce this salutary effect, I lost no time in availing myself of the act authorizing a suspension, in whole or in part, of the several embargo laws. Our ministers at London and Paris were instructed to explain to the respective governments there, our disposition to exercise the authority in such manner as would withdraw the pretext on which the aggressions were originally founded, and open a way for the renewal of that commercial intercourse which it was alledged on all sides had been reluctantly obstructed. As each of those governments had pledged its readiness to concur in renouncing a measure which reached its adversary through the incontestable rights of neutrals only, and as the measure had been assumed by each as a retaliation for an asserted acquiescence in the aggressions of the other, it was reasonably expected that the occasion would have been seized by both for evincing the sincerity of their professions, and for restoring to the commerce of the United States its legitimate freedom. The instructions to our ministers, with respect to the different belligerents,

were necessarily modified with a reference to their different circumstances, and to the condition annexed by law to the executive power of suspension, requiring a degree of security to our commerce which would not result from a repeal of the decrees of France. Instead of a pledge, therefore, for a suspension of the embargo as to her in case of such a repeal, it was presumed that a sufficient inducement might be found in other considerations, and particularly in the change produced by a compliance with our just demands by one belligerent, and a refusal by the other in the relations between this other and the United States. To Great Britain, whose power on the ocean is so ascendant, it was deemed not inconsistent with that condition to state explicitly, that on her rescinding her orders in relation to the United States, their trade would be opened with her, and remain shut to her enemy, in case of his failure to rescind his decrees also. From France no answer has been received, nor any indication that the requisite change in her decrees is contemplated. The favourable reception of the proposition to Great Britain was the less to be doubted, as her orders of council had not only been referred for their vindication to an acquiescence on the part of the United States, no longer to be pretended, but as the arrangement proposed, whilst it resisted the illegal decrees of France, involved, moreover substantially, the precise advantages professedly aimed at by the British orders. The arrangement has nevertheless, been rejected.

This candid and liberal experiment having thus failed and no other event having occurred on which a suspension of the embargo by the Executive was authorized, it necessarily remains in the extent originally given to it. We have the satisfaction, however, to reflect, that in re-

turn for the privations imposed by the measure, and which our fellow-citizens in general have borne with patriotism, it has had the important effects of saving our mariners, and our vast mercantile property, as well as of affording time for prosecuting the defensive and provisional measures, called for by the occasion. It has demonstrated to foreign nations the moderation and firmness which govern our councils, and to our citizens the necessity of uniting in support of the laws and the rights of their country, and has thus long frustrated those usurpations and spoliations which, if resisted, involved war, if submitted to, sacrificed a vital principle of our national independence.

Under a continuance of the belligerent measures, which in defiance of laws which consecrate the rights of neutrals, overspread the ocean with danger, it will rest with the wisdom of Congress to decide on the course best adapted to such a state of things ; and bringing with them, as they do, from every part of the Union, the sentiments of our constituents, my confidence is strengthened, that in forming this decision, they will, with an unerring regard to the essential rights and interests of the nation, weigh and compare the painful alternatives out of which a choice is to be made. Nor should I do justice to the virtues, which on other occasions have marked the character of our fellow-citizens, if I did not cherish an equal confidence, that the alternative chosen, whatever it may be, will be maintained with all the fortitude and patriotism which the crisis ought to inspire.

The documents, containing the correspondences on the subject of the foreign edicts against our commerce, with the instructions given to our ministers at London and Paris, are now laid before you.

The communications, made to Congress at their last session, explained the posture in which the close of the discussions relative to the attack by a British ship of war on the frigate Chesapeake left a subject on which the nation had manifested so honourable a sensibility. Every view of what had passed, authorized a belief that immediate steps would be taken by the British government for redressing a wrong, which, the more it was investigated, appeared the more clearly to require what had not been provided for in the special mission. It is found that no steps have been taken for the purpose. On the contrary, it will be seen in the documents laid before you, that the inadmissible preliminary, which obstructed the adjustment, is still adhered to; and, moreover, that it is now brought into connection with the distinct and irrelative case of the orders in council. The instructions which had been given to our minister at London, with a view to facilitate, if necessary, the reparation claimed by the United States, are included in the documents communicated.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have undergone no material changes since your last session. The important negotiations with Spain, which had been alternately suspended and resumed, necessarily experience a pause, under the extraordinary and interesting crisis which distinguishes her internal situation.

With the Barbary powers we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjustifiable proceeding of the dey of Algiers towards our consul to that regency. Its character and circumstances are now laid before you, and will enable you to decide how far it may either now or hereafter call for any measures not within the limits of the executive authority.

With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been steadily maintained. Some instances of individual wrong have as at other times taken place, but in no wise implicating the will of the nation. Beyond the Mississippi, the Ioways, the Sacs, and the Alibamas, have delivered up for trial and punishment individuals from among themselves, accused of murdering citizens of the United States. On this side of the Mississippi, the Creeks are exerting themselves to arrest offenders of the same kind, and the Choctaws have manifested their readiness and desire for amicable and just arrangements respecting depredations committed by disorderly persons of their tribe. And generally from a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily, is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them. Husbandry and household manufacture are advancing among them, more rapidly with the southern than northern tribes, from circumstances of soil and climate; and one of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation have now under consideration to solicit the citizenship of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government in such progressive manner as we shall think best.

In consequence of the appropriations of the last session of Congress for the security of our sea-port towns and harbours, such works of defence have been erected as seemed to be called for by the situation of the several places, their relative importance, and the scale of expense indicated by the amount of the appropriation. These works will chiefly be finished in the course of the present season, except at New York and New Orleans, where

most was to be done : and although a great proportion of the last appropriation has been expended on the former place, yet some further views will be submitted to Congress for rendering its security entirely adequate against naval enterprise. A view of what has been done at the several places, and of what is proposed to be done, shall be communicated as soon as the several reports are received.

Of the gun-boats authorized by the act of December last, it has been thought necessary to build only one hundred and three in the present year. These, with those before possessed, are sufficient for the harbours and waters most exposed, and the residue will require little time for their construction when it shall be deemed necessary.

Under the act of the last session for raising an additional military force, so many officers were immediately appointed as were necessary for carrying on the business of recruiting, and in proportion as it advanced, others have been added. We have reason to believe their success has been satisfactory, although such returns have not yet been received as enable me to present you a statement of the numbers engaged.

I have not thought it necessary in the course of the last season to call for any general detachments of militia or of volunteers, under the laws passed for that purpose. For the ensuing season, however, they will be required to be in readiness, should their service be wanted. Some small and special detachments have been necessary to maintain the laws of embargo, on that portion of our northern frontier which offered peculiar facilities for evasion, but these were replaced as soon as it could be done by bodies of new recruits. By the aid of these, and of the armed

vessels called into service in other quarters, the spirit of disobedience and abuse, which manifested itself early, and with sensible effect while we were unprepared to meet it, has been considerably repressed.

Considering the extraordinary character of the times in which we live, our attention should unremittingly be fixed on the safety of our country. For a people who are free, and who mean to remain so, a well organized and armed militia is their best security. It is therefore incumbent on us, at every meeting, to revise the condition of the militia, and to ask ourselves if it is prepared to repel a powerful enemy at every point of our territories exposed to invasion? Some of the states have paid a laudable attention to this object; but every degree of neglect is to be found among others. Congress alone having the power to produce an uniform state of preparation in this great organ of defence, the interests which they so deeply feel in their own and their country's security will present this as among the most important objects of their deliberation.

Under the acts of March eleventh and April twenty-third, respecting arms, the difficulty of procuring them from abroad during the present situation and dispositions of Europe, induced us to direct our whole efforts to the means of internal supply. The public factories have therefore been enlarged, additional machineries erected, and in proportion as artificers can be found or formed, their effect already more than doubled, may be increased so as to keep pace with the yearly increase of the militia. The annual sums appropriated by the latter act have been directed to the encouragement of private factories of arms, and contracts have been entered into with individual un-

dertakers to nearly the amount of the first years appropriation.

The suspension of our foreign commerce, produced by the injustice of the belligerent powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens, are subjects of just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced, has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistence, the freedom of labour from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibitions, become permanent. The commerce with the Indians, too, within our own boundaries, is likely to receive abundant aliment from the same internal source, and will secure to them peace and the progress of civilization undisturbed by practices hostile to both.

The accounts of the receipts and expenditures during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, being not yet made up, a correct statement will hereafter be transmitted from the treasury. In the mean time it is ascertained that the receipts have amounted to near eighteen millions of dollars, which with the eight millions and a half in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, and interest incurred, to pay two millions three hundred thousand dollars of the principal of our funded debt, and left us in the treasury on that day near fourteen millions of dollars. Of these, five millions three hundred and fifty thousand dollars will be necessary to pay what will be due on the first day of January next, which will complete the reimbursement of the eight per cent. stock. These payments

with those made in the six years and a half preceding, will have extinguished thirty-three millions five hundred and eighty thousand dollars of the principal of the funded debt, being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law and of our contracts, and the amount of principal thus discharged will have liberated the revenue from about two millions of dollars of interest, and added that sum annually to the disposable surplus. The probable accumulation of the surplusses of revenue beyond what can be applied to the payment of the public debt, whenever, the freedom and safety of our commerce shall be restored, merits the consideration of Congress. Shall it lie unproductive in the public vaults? shall the revenue be reduced? or shall it not rather be appropriated to the improvements of roads, canals, rivers, education, and other great foundations of prosperity and union, under the powers which Congress may already possess, or such amendment of the constitution as may be approved by the states? While uncertain of the course of things, the time may be advantageously employed in obtaining the powers necessary for a system of improvement, should that be thought best.

Availing myself of this, the last occasion which will occur of addressing the two houses of the legislature at their meeting, I cannot omit the expression of my sincere gratitude, for the repeated proofs of confidence manifested to me by themselves and their predecessors since my call to the administration, and the many indulgences experienced at their hands. The same grateful acknowledgments are due to my fellow-citizens generally, whose support has been my great encouragement under all embarrassments. In the transaction of their business I cannot have escaped error. It is incident to our imperfect na-

ture. But I may say with truth my errors have been of the understanding, not of intention, and that the advancement of their rights and interests has been the constant motives for every measure. On these considerations I solicit their indulgence. Looking forward with anxiety to their future destinies, I trust that in their steady character, unshaken by difficulties, in their love of liberty, obedience to law, and support of the public authorities, I see a sure guaranty of the permanence of our republic; and retiring from the charge of their affairs, I carry with me the consolation of a firm persuasion, that Heaven has in store for our beloved country, long ages to come of prosperity and happiness.

TH: JEFFERSON.

PRESIDENT MADISON'S

Inaugural Address

OF THE

FOURTH OF MARCH, 1809.

UNWILLING to depart from examples, of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion now presented, to express the profound impression made on me by the call of my country to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge myself, by the most solemn of sanctions. So distinguished a mark of confidence proceeding from the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a free and virtuous nation, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion, as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. Under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel that both the honour and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel; and that of our country full of difficulties. The pressure of these two, is the more severely felt, because they have fallen upon us at a moment when national prosperity being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from this change has been rendered the more striking. Under the benign influence of our republican

institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nations, whilst so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources. Proofs of this were seen in the improvements of agriculture : in the successful enterprises of commerce ; in the progress of manufactures and useful arts ; in the increase of the public revenue and the use made of it in reducing the public debt ; and in the valuable works and establishments every where multiplying over the face of our land.

It is a precious reflection that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country, to the scene which has for some time been distressing us, is not chargeable on any unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any involuntary errors in the public councils. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace by observing justice, and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war, by fulfilling their neutral obligations, with the most scrupulous impartiality. If their candour in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Posterity at least will do justice to them.

This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced, equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law. How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued in spite of the demonstrations, that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United States, and of the fair and liberal attempts to induce a revocation of them cannot

be anticipated. Assuring myself that under every vicissitude, the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safe guards to its honour, and its essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me with no other discouragement than what springs from my own inadequacy to its high duties. If I do not sink under the weight of this deep conviction, it is because I find some support in a consciousness of the purposes, and a confidence in the principles which I bring with me into this arduous service.

To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, having correspondent dispositions ; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations : to prefer in all cases amicable discussions and reasonable accommodation of differences, to a decision of them by an appeal to arms ; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities so degrading to all countries and so baneful to free ones ; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others ; too proud to surrender our own ; too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others ; to hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness ; to support the constitution which is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities ; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of the general system ; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction ; to preserve to their full energy the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press ; to observe economy in public expenditures ; to liberate the public resources by an ho-

nourable discharge of the public debts ; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics, that without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger ; nor, with large ones safe ; to promote by authorized means improvements friendly to agriculture to manufactures, and to external, as well as internal commerce ; to favour, in like manner, the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment to true liberty ; to carry on the benevolent plans which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbours, from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state. As far as sentiments and intentions such as these can aid the fulfilment of my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me.

It is my good fortune, moreover, to have the path in which I am to tread, lighted by examples of illustrious services, successfully rendered in the most trying difficulties by those who have marched before me. Of those of my immediate predecessor, it might least become me here to speak—I may, however, be pardoned for not suppressing the sympathy, with which my heart is full, in the rich reward he enjoys in the benedictions of a beloved country, gratefully bestowed for exalted talents, zealously devoted through a long career, to the advancement of its highest interest and happiness. But the source to which I look for the aids, which alone can supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried intelligence and virtue of my fellow-citizens, and in the councils of those representing them in the other departments associated in the care of

the national interests. In these my confidence will, under every difficulty, be best placed ; next to that we have all been encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations, whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising Republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, MAY 23, 1809.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

ON this first occasion of meeting you, it affords me much satisfaction to be able to communicate the commencement of a favourable change in our foreign relations ; the critical state of which induced a session of Congress at this early period.

In consequence of the provisions of the act interdicting commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France, our ministers at London and Paris were, without delay, instructed to let it be understood by the French and British governments, that the authority vested in the Executive, to renew commercial intercourse with their respective nations, would be exercised in the case specified by that act.

Soon after these instructions were despatched, it was found that the British government, anticipating, from early proceedings of Congress, at their last session, the state of our laws which has had the effect of placing the two belligerent powers on a footing of equal restrictions, and relying on the conciliatory disposition of the United States, had transmitted to their legation here, provisional instructions, not only to offer satisfaction for the attack on the frigate Chesapeake, and to make known the determination of his Britannic majesty, to send an envoy extraordinary with powers to conclude a treaty on all the points between the two countries, but, moreover, to signify his

willingness, in the mean time, to withdraw his orders in council, in the persuasion that the intercourse with Great Britain would be renewed on the part of the United States.

These steps of the British government led to the correspondence and the proclamation now laid before you; by virtue of which, the commerce between the two countries will be renewable after the tenth day of June next.

Whilst I take pleasure in doing justice to the councils of his Britannic majesty, which no longer adhering to the policy which made an abandonment by France, of her decrees, a prerequisite to a revocation of the British orders, have substituted the amicable course which has issued thus happily; I cannot do less than refer to the proposal heretofore made on the part of the United States, embracing a like restoration of the suspended commerce, as a proof of the spirit of accommodation which has at no time been intermitted, and to the result which now calls for our congratulations, as corroborating the principles, by which the public councils have been guided, during a period of the most trying embarrassments.

The discontinuance of the British orders, as they respect the United States, having been thus arranged, a communication of the event has been forwarded, in one of our public vessels, to our minister plenipotentiary at Paris; with instructions to avail himself of the important addition thereby made, to the considerations which press on the justice of the French government a revocation of its decrees, or such a modification of them, as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States.

The revision of our commercial laws, proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will doubtless engage the early attention of Congress. It will be worthy, at the time, of their just and provident care, to make such further alterations in the laws, as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture, which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens.

Under the existing aspect of our affairs, I have thought it not inconsistent with a just precaution to have the gun-boats with the exception of those at New Orleans, placed in a situation incurring no expense beyond that requisite for their preservation, and conveniency for future service; and to have the crews of those at New Orleans reduced to the number required for their navigation and safety.

I have thought also, that our citizens detached in quotas of militia, amounting to one hundred thousand, under the act of March, one thousand eight hundred and eight, might, not improperly, be relieved from the state in which they were held for immediate service. A discharge of them has been accordingly directed.

The progress made in raising and organizing the additional military force, for which provision was made by the act of April, one thousand eight hundred and eight, together with the disposition of the troops will appear by a report which the secretary of war is preparing, and which will be laid before you.

Of the additional frigates required by an act of the last session, to be fitted for actual service, two are in readiness one nearly so, and the fourth is expected to be ready

in the month of July. A report, which the secretary of the navy is preparing on the subject, to be laid before Congress, will show at the same time, the progress made in officering and manning these ships. It will show also the degree in which the provisions of the act, relating to the other public armed ships have been carried into execution.

It will rest with the judgment of Congress to decide how far the change in our external prospects may authorize any modifications of the laws relating to the army and navy establishments.

The works of defence for our sea-port towns and harbours have proceeded with as much activity, as the season of the year and other circumstances will admit. It is necessary however to state that the appropriations hitherto made being found to be deficient, a further provision will claim the early consideration of Congress.

The whole of the eight per cent. stock remaining due by the United States, amounting to five millions three hundred thousand dollars, had been reimbursed on the last day of the year 1808. And on the first day of April last, the sum in the treasury exceeded nine and a half millions of dollars. This, together with the receipts of the current year on account of former revenue bonds, will probably be nearly, if not altogether sufficient to defray the expenses of the year. But the suspension of exports and the consequent decrease of importations, during the last twelve months, will necessarily cause a great diminution in the receipts of the year one thousand eight hundred and ten. After that year should our foreign relations be undisturbed, the revenue will again be more than commensurate to all the expenditures.

Aware of the inconveniences of a protracted session at the present season of the year, I forbear to call the attention of the legislature to any matters not particularly urgent. It remains therefore only to assure you of the fidelity and alacrity with which I shall co-operate for the welfare and happiness of our country ; and to pray that it may experience a continuance of the divine blessings, by which it has been so signally favoured.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 29, 1809.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

AT the period of our last meeting, I had the satisfaction of communicating an adjustment with one of the principal belligerent nations, highly important in itself, and still more so as presaging a more extended accommodation. It is with deep concern, I am now to inform you, that the favourable prospect has been overclouded, by a refusal of the British government to abide by the act of its minister plenipotentiary, and by its ensuing policy towards the United States, as seen through the communications of the minister sent to replace him.

Whatever pleas may be urged for a disavowal of engagements formed by diplomatic functionaries, in cases where by the terms of the engagements a mutual ratification is reserved; or where notice at the time may have been given, of a departure from instructions; or in extraordinary cases, essentially violating the principles of equity; a disavowal could not have been apprehended in a case where no such notice or violation existed; where no such ratification was reserved; and more especially, where, as is now in proof, an engagement, to be executed without any such ratification was contemplated by the instructions given, and where it had, with good faith, been carried into immediate execution on the part of the United States.

These considerations not having restrained the British government from disavowing the arrangement, by virtue

of which its orders in council were to be revoked, and the event authorizing the renewal of commercial intercourse, having thus not taken place; it necessarily became a question of equal urgency and importance, whether the act prohibiting that intercourse was not to be considered as remaining in legal force. This question being, after due deliberation, determined in the affirmative, a proclamation to that effect was issued. It could not but happen, however, that a return to this state of things, from that which had followed an execution of the arrangement by the United States, would involve difficulties. With a view to diminish these as much as possible, the instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury, now laid before you, were transmitted to the collectors of the several ports. If in permitting British vessels to depart, without giving bonds not to proceed to their own ports, it should appear that the tenour of legal authority has not been strictly pursued, it is to be ascribed to the anxious desire which was felt, that no individuals should be injured by so unforeseen an occurrence: and I rely on the regard of Congress for the equitable interests of our own citizens, to adopt whatever further provisions may be found requisite, for a general remission of penalties involuntarily incurred.

The recall of the disavowed minister having been followed by the appointment of a successor, hopes were indulged that the new mission would contribute to alleviate the disappointment which had been produced, and to remove the causes which had so long embarrassed the good understanding of the two nations. It could not be doubted, that it would at least be charged with conciliatory explanations of the step which had been taken, and with proposals to be substituted for the rejected arrangement.

Reasonable and universal as this expectation was, it also has not been fulfilled. From the first official disclosures of the new minister, it was found that he had received no authority to enter into explanations relative to either branch of the arrangement disavowed; nor any authority to substitute proposals, as to that branch, which concerned the British orders in council. And finally, that his proposals with respect to the other branch, the attack on the frigate *Chesapeake*, were founded on a presumption, repeatedly declared to be inadmissible by the United States, that the first step towards adjustment was due from them; the proposals at the same time, omitting even a reference to the officer answerable for the murderous aggression, and asserting a claim not less contrary to the British laws, and British practice, than to the principles and obligations of the United States.

The correspondence between the department of state and this minister will show, how unessentially the features presented in its commencement have been varied in its progress. It will show also, that forgetting the respect due to all governments, he did not refrain from imputations on this, which required that no further communications should be received from him. The necessity of this step will be made known to his Britannic majesty through the minister plenipotentiary of the United States in London. And it would indicate a want of confidence due to a government which so well understands and exacts what becomes foreign ministers near it, not to infer that the misconduct of its own representative will be viewed in the same light, in which it has been regarded here. The British government will learn, at the same time, that a ready attention will be given to communications, through any channel which may be substituted. It will be happy,

if the change in this respect should be accompanied by a favourable revision of the unfriendly policy, which has been so long pursued towards the United States.

With France, the other belligerent, whose trespasses on our commercial rights have long been the subject of our just remonstrances, the posture of our relations does not correspond with the measures, taken on the part of the United States, to effect a favourable change. The result of the several communications made to her government, in pursuance of the authorities vested by Congress in the Executive, is contained in the correspondence of our minister at Paris, now laid before you.

By some of the other belligerents, although professing just and amicable dispositions, injuries materially affecting our commerce have not been duly controlled or repressed. In these cases, the interposition deemed proper on our part have not been omitted. But it well deserves the consideration of the legislature, how far both the safety and the honour of the American flag may be consulted, by adequate provisions against that collusive prostitution of it by individuals, unworthy of the American name, which has so much favoured the real or pretended suspicions, under which the honest commerce of their fellow-citizens has suffered.

In relation to the powers on the coast of Barbary, nothing has occurred which is not of a nature rather to inspire confidence than distrust, as to the continuance of the existing amity. With our Indian neighbours, the just and benevolent system, continued toward them, has also preserved peace, and is more and more advancing habits favourable to their civilization and happiness.

From a statement which will be made by the secretary of war, it will be seen that the fortifications on our mari-

time frontier are in many of the ports completed ; affording the defence which was contemplated, and that a further time will be required to render complete the works in the harbour of New York, and in some other places. By the enlargement of the works, and the employment of a great number of hands at the public armories the supply of small arms, of an improving quality appears to be annually increasing, at a rate, that with those made on private contract, may be expected to go far towards providing for the public exigency.

The act of Congress providing for the equipment of our vessels of war having been fully carried into execution, I refer to the statement of the Secretary of the Navy for the information which may be proper on that subject. To that statement is added a view of the transfers of appropriations, authorized by the act of the session preceding the last, and of the grounds on which the transfers were made.

Whatever may be the course of your deliberations on the subject of our military establishments, I should fail in my duty in not recommending to your serious attention the importance of giving to our militia, the great bulwark of our security, and resource of our power, an organization the best adapted to eventual situations for which the United States ought to be prepared.

The sums which had been previously accumulated in the treasury, together with the receipts during the year ending on the 30th of September last (and amounting to more than nine millions of dollars) have enabled us to fulfil all our engagements, and to defray the current expenses of government without recurring to any loan. But the insecurity of our commerce, and the consequent diminution of the public revenue, will probably produce a de-

iciency in the receipts of the ensuing year, for which, and for other details, I refer to the statements which will be transmitted from the treasury.

In the state which has been presented of our affairs with the great parties to a disastrous and protracted war, carried on in a mode equally injurious and unjust to the United States as a neutral nation. the wisdom of the national legislature will be again summoned to the important decision on the alternatives before them. That these will be met in a spirit, worthy the councils of a nation, conscious both of its rectitude and of its rights, and careful as well of its honour as of its peace, I have an entire confidence. And that the result will be stamped by a unanimity becoming the occasion, and be supported by every portion of our citizens, with a patriotism enlightened and invigorated by experience, ought as little to be doubted.

In the midst of the wrongs and vexations experienced from external causes, there is much room for congratulation on the prosperity and happiness flowing from our situation at home. The blessing of health has never been more universal. The fruits of the seasons, though in particular articles and districts short of their usual redundancy, are more than sufficient for our wants and our comforts. The face of our country every where presents the evidence of laudable enterprise, of extensive capital, and of durable improvement. In a cultivation of the materials, and the extension of useful manufactures, more especially, in the general application to household fabrics, we behold a rapid diminution of our dependence on foreign supplies. Nor is it unworthy of reflection, that this revolution in our pursuits and habits is in no slight degree a consequence of those impolitic and arbitrary edicts, by which

the contending nations, in endeavouring each of them to obstruct our trade with the other, have so far abridged our means of procuring the productions and manufactures, of which our own are now taking the place.

Recollecting always, that every advantage which may contribute to distinguish our lot, from that to which others are doomed by the unhappy spirit of the times, we are indebted to that Divine Providence whose goodness has been so remarkably extended to this rising nation, it becomes us to cherish a devout gratitude, and to implore from the same omnipotent source a blessing on the consultations and measures about to be undertaken for the welfare of our beloved country.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 5, 1810.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

THE embarrassments which have prevailed in our foreign relations, and so much employed the deliberations of Congress, make it a primary duty, in meeting you, to communicate whatever may have occurred, in that branch of our national affairs.

The act of the last session of Congress, "concerning the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and their dependencies," having invited, in a new form, a termination of their edicts against our neutral commerce, copies of the act were immediately forwarded to our ministers at London and Paris, with a view that its object might be within the early attention of the French and British governments.

By the communication received through our minister at Paris, it appeared, that a knowledge of the act by the French government, was followed by a declaration that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and would cease to have effect on the first day of November ensuing. These being the only known edicts of France, within the description of the act, and the revocation of them being such that they ceased, at that date, to violate our neutral commerce, the fact, as prescribed by law, was announced by a proclamation bearing date the second day of November.

It would have well accorded with the conciliatory views, indicated by this proceeding, on the part of

France, to have extended them to all the grounds of just complaint, which now remain unadjusted with the United States. It was particularly anticipated that as a further evidence of just dispositions towards them, restoration would have been immediately made of the property of our citizens seized under a misapplication of the principle of reprisals, combined with a misconstruction of a law of the United States. This expectation has not been fulfilled.

From the British government no communication on the subject of the act has been received. To a communication from our minister at London of the revocation, by the French government, of its Berlin and Milan decrees, it was answered that the British system would be relinquished as soon as the repeal of the French decrees should have actually taken effect, and the commerce of neutral nations have been restored to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees. This pledge, although it does not necessarily import, does not exclude the inclination of relinquishing, along with the orders in council, the practice of those novel blockades which have a like effect of interrupting our neutral commerce. And this further justice to the United States is the rather to be looked for, in as much as the blockades in question, being not more contrary to the established law of nations, than inconsistent with the rules of blockade formally recognised by Great Britain herself, could have no alleged basis, other than the plea of retaliation, alleged as the basis of the orders in council. Under the modification of the original orders of November, 1807, into the orders of April, 1809, there is indeed scarcely a nominal distinction between the orders and the blockades. One of those illegitimate blockades, bearing date in May, 1806, having

been expressly avowed to be still unrescinded, and to be, in effect, comprehended in the orders in council, was too distinctly brought within the purview of the act of Congress, not to be comprehended in the explanation of the requisites to a compliance with it. The British government was accordingly apprized by our minister near it, that such was the light in which the subject was to be regarded.

On the other important subjects depending between the United States and that government, no progress has been made, from which an early and satisfactory result can be relied on.

In this new posture of our relations with those powers the consideration of Congress will be properly turned to a removal of doubts which may occur in the exposition, and of difficulties in the execution of the act above cited.

The commerce of the United States, with the north of Europe, heretofore much vexed by licentious cruisers, particularly under the Danish flag, has latterly been visited with fresh and extensive depredations. The measures pursued in behalf of our injured citizens not having obtained justice for them, a further and more formal interposition with the Danish government is contemplated. The principles which have been maintained by that government in relation to neutral commerce, and the friendly professions of his Danish majesty towards the United States, are valuable pledges in favour of a successful issue.

Among the events growing out of the state of the Spanish monarchy, our attention was imperiously attracted to the changes, developing itself in that portion of West Florida, which, though of right appertaining to the United States, had remained in the possession of Spain;

awaiting the result of negotiations for its actual delivery to them. The Spanish authority was subverted; and a situation produced, exposing the country to ulterior events, which might essentially affect the rights and welfare of the Union. In such a conjuncture, I did not delay the interposition required for the occupancy of the territory west of the river Perdido; to which the title of the United States extends, and to which the laws, provided for the territory of Orleans, are applicable. With this view, the proclamation, of which a copy is laid before you, was confided to the governors of that territory, to be carried into effect. The legality and necessity of the course pursued, assure me of the favourable light in which it will present itself to the legislature; and of the promptitude, with which they will supply whatever provisions may be due to the essential rights and equitable interests of the people thus brought into the bosom of the American family.

Our amity with the powers of Barbary, with the exception of a recent occurrence at Tunis, of which an explanation is just received, appears to have been uninterrupted, and to have become more firmly established.

With the Indian tribes, also, the peace and friendship of the United States are found to be so eligible, that the general disposition to preserve both, continues to gain strength.

I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. To a thriving agriculture, and the improvements related to it, is added a highly interesting extension of useful manufactures; the combined product of professional occupations, and of household industry. Such, indeed is the experience of

economy, as well as of policy, in these substitutes for supplies heretofore obtained by foreign commerce, that, in a national view the change is justly regarded as of itself more than a recompense for those privations and losses resulting from foreign injustice, which furnished the general impulse required for its accomplishment. How far it may be expedient to guard the infancy of this improvement in the distribution of labour, by regulation of the commercial tariff, is a subject which cannot fail to suggest itself to your patriotic reflections.

It will rest with the consideration of Congress, also, whether a provident, as well as fair encouragement, would not be given to our navigation, by such regulations as will place it on a level of competition with foreign vessels, particularly in transporting the important and bulky productions of our own soil. The failure of equality and reciprocity in the existing regulations on this subject operates, in our ports, as a premium to foreign competitors; and the inconvenience must increase, as these may be multiplied, under more favourable circumstances, by the more than countervailing encouragements now given them, by the laws of their respective countries.

Whilst it is universally admitted that a well instructed people alone can be permanently a free people; and whilst it is evident that the means of diffusing and improving useful knowledge form so small a proportion of the expenditures for national purposes, I cannot presume it to be unseasonable, to invite your attention to the advantages of superadding to the means of education provided by the several states, a seminary of learning, instituted by the national legislature, within the limits of their exclusive jurisdiction; the expense of which might be defray-

ed, or reimbursed, out of the vacant grounds which have accrued to the nation within those limits.

Such an institution, though local in its legal character would be universal in its beneficial effects. By enlightening the opinions : by expanding the patriotism ; and by assimilating the principles, the sentiments and the manners of those who might resort to this temple of science, to be re-distributed, in due time, through every part of the community ; sources of jealousy and prejudice would be diminished, the features of national character would be multiplied, and greater extent given to social harmony. But above all, a well constituted seminary, in the centre of the nation, is recommended by the consideration, that the additional instruction emanating from it would contribute not less to strengthen the foundations, than to adorn the structure, of our free and happy system of government.

Among the commercial abuses still committed under the American flag, and leaving in force my former reference to that subject, it appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on a traffic in enslaved Africans, equally in violation of the laws of humanity, and in defiance of those of their own country. The same just and benevolent motives which produced the interdiction in force against this criminal conduct, will doubtless be felt by Congress, in devising further means of suppressing the evil.

In the midst of uncertainties, necessarily connected with the great interests of the United States, prudence requires a continuance of our defensive and precautionary arrangements. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy will submit the statements and estimates which may aid Congress, in their ensuing provisions for

the land and naval forces. The statements of the latter will include a view of the transfers of appropriations in the naval expenditures, and the grounds on which they were made.

The fortifications for the defence of our maritime frontier have been prosecuted according to the plan laid down in 1808. The works, with some exceptions, are completed, and furnished with ordnance. Those for the security of the city of New York, though far advanced towards completion, will require a further time and appropriation. This is the case with a few others, either not completed, or in need of repairs.

The improvements, in quality and quantity, made in the manufactory of cannon, and of small arms, both at the public armories, and private factories, warrant additional confidence in the competency of these resources, for supplying the public exigencies.

These preparations for arming the militia having, thus far provided for one of the objects contemplated by the powers vested in Congress with respect to that great bulwark of the public safety, it is for their consideration, whether further provisions are not requisite, for the other contemplated objects of organization and discipline. To give to this great mass of physical and moral force, the efficiency which it merits and is capable of receiving, it is indispensable that they should be instructed and practised in the rules by which they are to be governed. Towards an accomplishment of this important work, I recommend for the consideration of Congress the expediency of instituting a system, which shall, in the first instance, call into the field, at the public expense, and for a given time, certain portions of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The instruction and discipline thus acquired,

would gradually diffuse through the entire body of the militia that practical knowledge and promptitude for active service, which are the great ends to be pursued. Experience has left no doubt either of the necessity or of the efficacy of competent military skill, in those portions of an army, in fitting it for the final duties which it may have to perform.

The corps of engineers, with the military academy, are entitled to the early attention of Congress. The buildings at the seat, fixed by law, for the present academy, are so far in decay as not to afford the necessary accommodation. But a revision of the law is recommended, principally with a view to a more enlarged cultivation and diffusion of the advantages of such institutions, by providing professorships for all the necessary branches of military instruction, and by the establishment of an additional academy, at the seat of government, or elsewhere. The means by which war, as well for defence, as for offence, are now carried on, render these schools of the more scientific operations an indispensable part of every adequate system. Even among nations whose large standing armies and frequent wars afford every other opportunity of instruction, these establishments are found to be indispensable, for the due attainment of the branches of military science, which require a regular course of study and experiment. In a government, happily without the other opportunities, seminaries, where the elementary principles of the art of war can be taught without actual war, and without the expense of extensive and standing armies, have the precious advantage of uniting an essential preparation against external danger, with a scrupulous regard to internal safety. In no other way, probably, can a provision, of equal

efficacy for the public defence, be made at so little expense, or more consistently with the public liberty.

The receipts into the treasury during the year ending on the thirtieth of September last (and amounting to more than eight millions and a half of dollars) have exceeded the current expenses of the government, including the interest of the public debt. For the purpose of reimbursing at the end of the year three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the principal, a loan as authorized by law, had been negotiated to that amount; but has since been reduced to two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars; the reduction being permitted by the state of the treasury, in which there will be a balance remaining at the end of the year, estimated at two millions of dollars. For the probable receipts of the next year, and other details, I refer to statements which will be transmitted from the treasury, and which will enable you to judge what further provisions may be necessary for the ensuing years.

Reserving for future occasions, in the course of the session, whatever other communications may claim your attention, I close the present by expressing my reliance, under the blessing of Divine Providence, on the judgment and patriotism which will guide your measures, at a period particularly calling for united councils, and inflexible exertions, for the welfare of our country, and by assuring you of the fidelity and alacrity with which my co-operation will be afforded.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 5, 1811.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

IN calling you together, sooner than a separation from your homes would otherwise have been required, I yielded to considerations drawn from the posture of our foreign affairs; and in fixing the present, for the time of your meeting, regard was had to the probability of further developments of the policy of the belligerent powers towards this country, which might the more unite the national councils, in the measures to be pursued.

At the close of the last session of Congress, it was hoped that the successive confirmations of the extinction of the French decrees, so far as they violated our neutral commerce, would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council; and thereby authorize a removal of the existing obstructions to her commerce with the United States.

Instead of this reasonable step towards satisfaction and friendship between the two nations, the orders, were at a moment when least to have been expected, put into more rigorous execution; and it was communicated through the British envoy just arrived, that, whilst the revocation of the edicts of France, as officially made known to the British government, was denied to have taken place; it was an indispensable condition of the repeal of the British orders, that commerce should be restored to a footing that would admit the productions and manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals, into markets

shut against them by her enemy : the United States being given, to understand, that, in the mean time, a continuance of their non-importation act would lead to measures of retaliation.

At a later date, it has indeed appeared, that a communication to the British government, of fresh evidence of the repeal of the French decrees against our neutral trade, was followed by an intimation, that it had been transmitted to the British plenipotentiary here, in order that it might receive full consideration in the depending discussions. This communication appears not to have been received : But the transmission of it hither, instead of founding on it an actual repeal of the orders, or assurances that the repeal would ensue, would not permit us to rely on any effective change in the British cabinet. To be ready to meet with cordiality satisfactory proofs of such a change, and to proceed, in the mean time, in adapting our measures to the views which have been disclosed through that minister, will best consult our whole duty.

In the unfriendly spirit of those disclosures, indemnity and redress for other wrongs, have continued to be withheld ; and our coasts, and the mouths of our harbours, have again witnessed scenes, not less derogatory to the dearest of our national rights, than vexatious to the regular course of our trade.

Among the occurrences produced by the conduct of British ships of war hovering on our coasts was an encounter between one of them, and the American frigate, commanded by captain Rodgers, rendered unavoidable on the part of the latter, by a fire, commenced without cause, by the former ; whose commander is, therefore, alone chargeable with the blood unfortunately shed in

maintaining the honour of the American flag. The proceedings of a court of inquiry, requested by captain Rodgers, are communicated; together with the correspondence relating to the occurrence, between the Secretary of State and his Britannic majesty's envoy. To these are added the several correspondences which have passed on the subject of the British orders in council; and to both, the correspondence relating to the Floridas, in which Congress will be made acquainted with the interposition which the government of Great Britain has thought proper to make against the proceedings of the United States.

The justice and fairness which have been evinced on the part of the United States, towards France, both before and since the revocation of her decrees, authorized an expectation that her government would have followed up that measure, by all such others as were due to our reasonable claims, as well as dictated by its amicable professions. No proof, however, is yet given, of an intention to repair the other wrongs done to the United States; and particularly to restore the great amount of American property seized and condemned under edicts, which, though not affecting our neutral relations, and therefore not entering into questions between the United States and other belligerents, were nevertheless founded in such unjust principles, that the reparation ought to have been prompt and ample.

In addition to this and other demands of strict right, on that nation, the United States have much reason to be dissatisfied with the rigorous and unexpected restrictions to which their trade with the French dominions has been subjected; and which, if not discontinued, will require

at least corresponding restrictions on importations from France into the United States.

On all those subjects, our minister plenipotentiary, lately sent to Paris, has carried with him the necessary instructions; the result of which will be communicated to you, and by ascertaining the ulterior of the policy of the French government towards the United States, will enable you to adapt to it, that of the United States towards France.

Our other foreign relations remain without unfavourable changes. With Russia they are on the best footing of friendship. The ports of Sweden have afforded proofs of friendly dispositions towards our commerce, in the councils of that nation also. And the information from our special minister to Denmark, shows that the mission had been attended with valuable effects to our citizens, whose property had been so extensively violated and endangered by cruisers under the Danish flag.

Under the ominous indications which commanded attention, it became a duty to exert the means committed to the executive department, in providing for the general security. The works of defence on our maritime frontier have accordingly been prosecuted, with an activity leaving little to be added for the completion of the most important ones; and, as particularly suited for co-operation in emergencies, a portion of the gun boats have, in particular harbours, been ordered into use. The ships of war before in commission, with the addition of a frigate, have been chiefly employed as a cruising guard to the rights of our coast. And such a disposition has been made of our land forces, as was thought to promise the services most appropriate and important. In this disposition is included a force, consisting of regulars and militia, embodied in

the Indiana territory, and marched towards our North Western frontier. This measure was made requisite by several murders and depredations committed by Indians; but more especially by the menacing preparations and aspect of a combination of them on the Wabash under the influence and direction of a fanatic of the Shawnese tribe. With these exceptions the Indian tribes retain their peaceable dispositions towards us, and their usual pursuits.

I must now add, that the period has arrived, which claims from the legislative guardians of the national rights a system of more ample provisions for maintaining them. Notwithstanding the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States, to substitute, for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries, all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence; we have seen that the British cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it; but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character, as well as the effect, of war on our lawful commerce.

With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour, and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

I recommend, accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops; for an auxiliary force, to be engaged for a more limited term; for the acceptance of volun-

teer corps, whose patriotic ardour may court a participation in urgent services ; for detachments, as they may be wanted ; of other portions of the militia ; and for such a preparation of the great body, as will proportion its usefulness to its intrinsic capacities. Nor can the occasion fail to remind you of the importance of those military seminaries, which, in every event, will form a valuable and frugal part of our military establishment.

The manufacture of cannon and small arms has proceeded with due success : and the stock and resources of all the necessary munitions are adequate to emergencies. It will not be inexpedient, however, for Congress to authorize an enlargement of them.

Your attention will of course be drawn to such provisions, on the subject of our naval force, as may be required for the services to which it may be best adapted. I submit to Congress the seasonableness, also, of an authority to augment the stock of such materials, as are imperishable in their nature, or may not at once be attainable.

In contemplating the scenes which distinguish this momentous epoch, and estimating their claims to our attention, it is impossible to overlook those developing themselves among the great communities which occupy the southern portion of our own hemisphere, and extend into our neighbourhood. An enlarged philanthropy, and an enlightened forecast, concur in imposing on the national councils an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies ; to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good will ; to regard the progress of events ; and not to be unprepared for whatever order of things may be ultimately established.

Under another aspect of our situation, the early attention of Congress will be due to the expediency of further

guards against evasions and infractions of our commercial laws. The practice of smuggling, which is odious every where, and particularly criminal in free governments where, the laws being made by all for the good of all, a fraud is committed on every individual as well as on the state, attains its utmost guilt, when it blends, with a pursuit of ignominious gain a treacherous subserviency, in the transgressors, to a foreign policy adverse to that of their own country. It is then that the virtuous indignation of the public should be enabled to manifest itself, through the regular animadversions of the most competent laws.

To secure greater respect to our mercantile flag, and to the honest interests which it covers; it is expedient also, that it be made punishable in our citizens to accept licenses from foreign governments, for a trade unlawfully interdicted by them to other American citizens; or to trade under false colours or papers of any sort.

A prohibition is equally called for, against the acceptance, by our citizens, of special licenses, to be used in a trade with the United States; and against the admission into particular ports of the United States, of vessels from foreign countries, authorized to trade with particular ports only.

Although other subjects will press more immediately on your deliberations, a portion of them cannot but be well bestowed on the just and sound policy of securing to our manufactures the success they have attained, and are still attaining, in some degree, under the impulse of causes not permanent; and to our navigation, the fair extent of which it is at present abridged by the unequal regulations of foreign governments.

Besides the reasonableness of saving our manufactures from sacrifices which a change of circumstances might

bring on them, the national interest requires, that, with respect to such articles, at least, as belong to our defence, and our primary wants, we should not be left in unnecessary dependence on foreign supplies. And whilst foreign governments adhere to the existing discriminations in their ports against our navigation, and an equality or lesser discrimination is enjoyed by their navigation, in our ports, the effect cannot be mistaken, because it has been seriously felt by our shipping interests; and in proportion as this takes place, the advantages of an independent conveyance of our products to foreign markets, and of a growing body of mariners, trained by their occupations for the service of their country in times of danger, must be diminished.

The receipts into the treasury, during the year ending on the thirtieth of September last, have exceeded thirteen millions and a half of dollars, and have enabled us to defray the current expenses, including the interest on the public debt, and to reimburse more than five millions of dollars of the principal, without recurring to the loan authorized by the act of the last session. The temporary loan obtained in the latter end of the year one thousand eight hundred and ten, has also been reimbursed, and is not included in that amount.

The decrease of revenue, arising from the situation of our commerce and the extraordinary expenses which have and may become necessary, must be taken into view, in making commensurate provisions for the ensuing year. And I recommend to your consideration, the propriety of insuring a sufficiency of annual revenue, at least to defray the ordinary expenses of government, and to pay the interest on the public debt, including that on new loans which may be authorized.

I cannot close this communication without expressing my deep sense of the crisis in which you are assembled, my confidence in a wise and honourable result to your deliberations, and assurances of the faithful zeal with which my co-operating duties will be discharged ; invoking, at the same time, the blessing of Heaven on our beloved country, and on all the means that may be employed, in vindicating its rights and advancing its welfare.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 4, 1812.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

ON our present meeting it is my first duty to invite your attention to the providential favours which our country has experienced in the unusual degree of health dispensed to its inhabitants. and in the rich abundance with which the earth has rewarded the labours bestowed on it. In the successful cultivation of other branches of industry, and in the progress of general improvement favourable to the national prosperity. there is just occasion, also, for our mutual congratulations and thankfulness.

With these blessings are necessarily mingled the pressures and vicissitudes incident to the state of war into which the United States have been forced, by the perseverance of a foreign power in its system of injustice and aggression.

Previous to its declaration it was deemed proper, as a measure of precaution and forecast, that a considerable force should be placed in the Michigan territory, with a general view of its security, and, in the event of war, to such operations in the uppermost Canada as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages, obtain the command of the lake on which that part of Canada borders, and maintain co-operating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts. Brigadier general Hull was charged with this provisional service; having under his command a body of troops composed of regulars, and of volunteers

from the state of Ohio. Having reached his destination after his knowledge of the war, and possessing discretionary authority to act offensively, he passed into the neighbouring territory of the enemy, with a prospect of easy and victorious progress. The expedition nevertheless terminated unfortunately, not only in a retreat to the town and fort of Detroit, but in the surrender of both, and of the gallant corps commanded by that officer. The causes of this painful reverse will be investigated by a military tribunal.

A distinguishing feature in the operations which preceded and followed this adverse event, is the use made by the enemy of the merciless savages under their influence. Whilst the benevolent policy of the United States invariably recommended peace and promoted civilization among that wretched portion of the human race, and was making exertions to dissuade them from taking either side in the war, the enemy has not scrupled to call to his aid their ruthless ferocity, armed with the horrors of those instruments of carnage and torture which are known to spare neither age nor sex. In this outrage against the laws of honourable war, and against the feelings sacred to humanity, the British commanders cannot resort to a plea of retaliation; for it is committed in the face of our example. They cannot mitigate it by calling it a self defence against men in arms; for it embraces the most shocking butcheries of defenceless families. Nor can it be pretended that they are not answerable for the atrocities perpetrated; since the savages are employed with a knowledge, and even with menaces, that their fury could not be controlled. Such is the spectacle which the deputed authorities of a nation, boasting its religion and morality,

have not been restrained from presenting to an enlightened age.

The misfortune at Detroit was not, however, without a consoling effect. It was followed by signal proofs, that the national spirit rises according to the pressure on it. The loss of an important post, and of the brave men surrendered with it, inspired every where new ardour and determination. In the states and districts least remote, it was no sooner known, than every citizen was ready to fly with his arms, at once to protect his brethren against the blood thirsty savages let loose by the enemy on an extensive frontier; and to convert a partial calamity into a source of invigorated efforts. This patriotic zeal which it was necessary rather to limit than excite has embodied an ample force from the states of Kentucky and Ohio, and from parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It is placed, with the addition of a few regulars, under the command of brigadier general Harrison, who possesses the entire confidence of his fellow soldiers, among whom are citizens, some of them volunteers in the ranks, not less distinguished by their political stations than by their personal merits. The greater portion of this force is proceeding on its destination, towards the Michigan territory, having succeeded in relieving an important frontier post, and in several incidental operations against hostile tribes of savages. rendered indispensable by the subserviency into which they had been seduced by the enemy; a seduction the more cruel, as it could not fail to impose a necessity of precautionary severities against those who yielded to it.

At a recent date, an attack was made on the post of the enemy near Niagara, by a detachment of the regular and other forces under the command of major general Van

Rensselaer, of the militia of the State of New York. The attack, it appears, was ordered in compliance with the ardour of the troops, who executed it with distinguished gallantry, and were for a time victorious; but not receiving the expected support, they were compelled to yield to reinforcements of British regulars and savages. Our loss has been considerable and is deeply to be lamented. That of the enemy, less ascertained, will be the more felt, as it includes among the killed the commanding general, who was also the governor of the province; and was sustained by veteran troops, from unexperienced soldiers, who must daily improve in the duties of the field.

Our expectation of gaining the command of the lakes, by the invasion of Canada from Detroit, having been disappointed, measures were instantly taken to provide on them a naval force superior to that of the enemy. From the talents and activity of the officer charged with this object, every thing that can be done may be expected. Should the present season not admit of complete success, the progress made will insure for the next a naval ascendancy, where it is essential to our permanent peace with, and control over the savages.

Among the incidents to the measures of the war, I am constrained to advert to the refusal of the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to furnish the required detachments of militia towards the defence of the maritime frontier. The refusal was founded on a novel and unfortunate exposition of the provisions of the constitution relating to the militia. The correspondences which will be before you, contain the requisite information on the subject. It is obvious that if the authority of the United States to call into service and command the militia for the public defence, can be thus frustrated, even in a state of

declared war, and of course under apprehensions of invasion preceding war, they are not one nation for the purpose most of all requiring it; and that the public safety may have no other resource, than in those large and permanent military establishments which are forbidden by the principles of our free government, and against the necessity of which the militia were meant to be a constitutional bulwark.

On the coasts, and on the ocean, the war has been as successful as circumstances inseparable from its early stages could promise. Our public ships and private cruisers, by their activity, and, where there was occasion, by their intrepidity, have made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. Our trade, with little exception, has safely reached our ports, having been much favoured in it by the course pursued by a squadron of our frigates, under the command of commodore Rodgers. And in the instance in which skill and bravery were more particularly tried with those of the enemy, the American flag had an auspicious triumph. The frigate *Constitution*, commanded by captain Hull, after a close and short engagement, completely disabled and captured a British frigate; gaining for that officer and all on board a praise which cannot be too liberally bestowed; not merely for the victory actually achieved, but for that prompt and cool exertion of commanding talents, which, giving to courage its highest character, and to the force applied its full effect, proved that more could have been done in a contest requiring more.

Anxious to abridge the evils from which a state of war cannot be exempt, I lost no time, after it was declared, in conveying to the British government the terms on which

its progress might be arrested, without awaiting the delays of a formal and final pacification. And our charge d'affaires at London was, at the same time, authorized to agree to an armistice founded upon them. These terms required that the orders in council should be repealed as they affected the United States, without a revival of blockades violating acknowledged rules; and that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships, and a stop to impressment from American ships with an understanding that an exclusion of the seamen of each nation from the ships of the other, should be stipulated; and that the armistice should be improved into a definitive and comprehensive adjustment of depending controversies. Although a repeal of the orders susceptible of explanations meeting the views of this government, had taken place before this pacific advance was communicated to that of Great Britain, the advance was declined, from an avowed repugnance to a suspension of the practice of impressments during the armistice, and without any intimation that the arrangement proposed with respect to seamen would be accepted. Whether the subsequent communications from this government, affording an occasion for re-considering the subject, on the part of Great Britain, will be viewed in a more favourable light, or received in a more accommodating spirit, remains to be known. It would be unwise to relax our measures, in any respect, on a presumption of such a result.

The documents from the department of state, which relate to this subject, will give a view also of the propositions for an armistice, which have been received here, one of them from the authorities at Halifax and in Canada, the other from the British government itself, through

admiral Warren; and of the grounds on which neither of them could be accepted.

Our affairs with France retain the posture which they held at my last communications to you. Notwithstanding the authorized expectations of an early as well as favourable issue to the discussions on foot, these have been procrastinated to the latest date. The only intervening occurrence meriting attention, is the promulgation of a French decree, purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. This proceeding, although made the ground of the repeal of the British orders in council, is rendered, by the time and manner of it, liable to many objections.

The final communication from our special minister to Denmark, afford further proofs of the good effects of his mission, and of the amicable disposition of the Danish government. From Russia we have the satisfaction to receive assurances of continued friendship, and that it will not be affected by the rupture between the United States and Great Britain. Sweden also professes sentiments favourable to the subsisting harmony.

With the Barbary powers, excepting that of Algiers, our affairs remain on the ordinary footing. The consul general, residing with that regency, has suddenly and without cause been banished, together with all the American citizens found there. Whether this was the transitory effect of capricious despotism, or the first act of pre-determined hostility, is not ascertained. Precautions were taken by the consul, on the latter supposition.

The Indian tribes, not under foreign instigations, remain at peace, and receive the civilizing attentions which have proved so beneficial to them.

With a view to that vigorous prosecution of the war, to which our national faculties are adequate, the attention of Congress will be particularly drawn to the insufficiency of existing provisions for filling up the military establishment. Such is the happy condition of our country, arising from the facility of subsistence and the high wages for every species of occupation, that notwithstanding the augmented inducements provided at the last session, a partial success only has attended the recruiting service. The deficiency has been necessarily supplied, during the campaign, by other than regular troops, with all the inconveniences and expense incident to them. The remedy lies in establishing, more favourably for the private soldier, the proportion between his recompense and the term of his enlistment. And it is a subject which cannot too soon or too seriously be taken into consideration.

The same insufficiency has been experienced in the provisions for volunteers made by an act of the last session. The recompense for the service required in this case, is still less attractive than in the other. And although patriotism alone has sent into the field some valuable corps of that description, those alone who can afford the sacrifice can be reasonably expected to yield to that impulse.

It will merit consideration also, whether, as auxiliary to the security of our frontiers, corps may not be advantageously organized, with a restriction of their services to particular districts convenient to them. And whether the local and occasional services of mariners and others in the sea-port towns, under a similar organization, would not be a provident addition to the means of their defence.

I recommend a provision for an increase of the general officers of the army, the deficiency of which has been illustrated by the number and distance of separate commands, which the course of the war and the advantage of the service have required.

And I cannot press too strongly on the earliest attention of the legislature the importance of the reorganization of the staff establishment, with a view to render more distinct and definite the relations and responsibilities of its several departments. That there is room for improvements which will materially promote both economy and success, in what appertains to the army and the war, is equally inculcated by the examples of other countries and by the experience of our own.

A revision of the militia laws for the purpose of rendering them more systematic, and better adapting them to emergencies of the war, is at this time particularly desirable.

Of the additional ships authorized to be fitted for service, two will be shortly ready to sail; a third is under repair, and delay will be avoided in the repair of the residue. Of the appropriations for the purchase of materials for ship-building, the greater part has been applied to that object, and the purchase will be continued with the balance.

The enterprising spirit which has characterized our naval force, and its success both in restraining insults and depredations on our coasts, and in reprisals on the enemy, will not fail to recommend an enlargement of it.

There being reason to believe that the act prohibiting the acceptance of British licenses, is not a sufficient guard against the use of them for purposes favourable to the interests and views of the enemy; further provisions on

that subject are highly important. Nor is it less so, that penal enactments should be provided for cases of corrupt and perfidious intercourse with the enemy, not amounting to treason, nor yet embraced by any statutory provisions.

A considerable number of American vessels, which were in England when the revocation of the orders in council took place, were laden with British manufactures under an erroneous impression that the non-importation act would immediately cease to operate, and have arrived in the United States. It did not appear proper to exercise on unforeseen cases of such magnitude, the ordinary powers vested in the treasury department to mitigate forfeitures, without previously affording to Congress an opportunity of making on the subject such provision as they may think proper. In their decision they will doubtless equally consult what is due to equitable considerations and to the public interest.

The receipts into the treasury, during the year ending on the 30th of September last, have exceeded sixteen millions and a half of dollars; which have been sufficient to defray all the demands on the treasury to that day, including a necessary reimbursement of near three millions of the principal of the public debt. In these receipts is included a sum of near five millions eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, received on account of the loans authorized by the acts of the last session: the whole sum actually obtained on loan amounts to eleven millions of dollars, the residue of which being receivable subsequent to the 30th of September last, will, together with the current revenue, enable us to defray all the expenses of this year.

The duties on the late unexpected importations of British manufactures, will render the revenue of the ensuing year more productive than could have been anticipated.

The situation of our country, fellow citizens, is not without its difficulties, though it abounds in animating considerations, of which the view here presented of our pecuniary resources is an example. With more than one nation, we have serious and unsettled controversies; and with one, powerful in the means and habits of war, we are at war. The spirit and strength of the nation are, nevertheless, equal to the support of all its rights, and to carry it through all its trials. They can be met in that confidence. Above all, we have the inestimable consolation of knowing that the war in which we are actually engaged, is a war neither of ambition nor vain glory; that it is waged, not in violation of the rights of others, but in the maintenance of our own; that it was preceded by a patience without example, under wrongs accumulating without end; and that it was finally not declared until every hope of averting it was extinguished, by the transfer of the British sceptre into new hands clinging to former councils; and until declarations were reiterated to the last hour, through the British envoy here, that the hostile edicts against our commercial rights and our maritime independence, would not be revoked; nay, that they could not be revoked without violating the obligations of Great Britain to other powers, as well as to her own interests. To have shrunk under such circumstances, from manly resistance, would have been a degradation blasting our best and proudest hopes: It would have struck us from the high rank where the virtuous struggles of our fathers had placed us, and have betrayed the magnificent legacy which we hold in trust for future generations. It

would have acknowledged that on the element which forms three fourths of the globe we inhabit, and where all independent nations have equal and common rights, the American people were not an independent people, but colonists and vassals. It was at this moment, and with such an alternative, that war was chosen. The nation felt the necessity of it, and called for it. The appeal was accordingly made, in a just cause, to the just and All-powerful Being who holds in his hand the chain of events and the destiny of nations. It remains only, that faithful to ourselves, entangled in no connections with the views of other powers, and ever ready to accept peace from the hand of justice, we prosecute the war with united councils, and with the ample faculties of the nation, until peace be so obtained, and as the only means, under the divine blessing, of speedily obtaining it.

JAMES MADISON.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
FOURTH OF MARCH, 1813.

ABOUT to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed by a second call to the station, in which my country heretofore placed me, I find, in the presence of this respectable assembly, an opportunity of publicly repeating my profound sense of so distinguished a confidence, and of the responsibility united with it. The impressions on me are strengthened by such an evidence, that my faithful endeavours to discharge my arduous duties have been favourably estimated; and by the consideration of the momentous period at which the trust has been renewed. From the weight and magnitude now belonging to it, I should be compelled to shrink, if I had less reliance on the support of an enlightened and generous people, and felt less deeply a conviction that the war with a powerful nation, which forms so prominent a feature in our situation, is stamped with that justice, which invites the smiles of heaven on the means of conducting it to a successful termination.

May we not cherish this sentiment, without presumption, when we reflect on the characters by which this war is distinguished.

It was not declared on the part of the United States, until it had been long made on them, in reality though

not in name; until arguments and expostulations had been exhausted; until a positive declaration had been received, that the wrongs provoking it would not be discontinued; nor until this last appeal could no longer be delayed, without breaking down the spirit of the nation, destroying all confidence in itself and in its political institutions; and either perpetuating a state of disgraceful suffering, or regaining, by more costly sacrifices and more severe struggles, our lost rank and respect among independent powers.

On the issue of the war are staked our national sovereignty on the high seas, and the security of an important class of citizens, whose occupations give the proper value to those of every other class. Not to contend for such a stake, is to surrender our equality with other powers, on the element common to all; and to violate the sacred title, which every member of the society has to its protection. I need not call into view the unlawfulness of the practice, by which our mariners are forced, at the will of every cruising officer, from their own vessels into foreign ones, nor paint the outrages inseparable from it. The proofs are in the records of each successive administration of our government; and the cruel sufferings of that portion of the American people have found their way to every bosom not dead to the sympathies of human nature.

As the war was just in its origin, and necessary and noble in its objects, we can reflect with a proud satisfaction, that in carrying it on, no principle of justice or honour, no usage of civilized nations, no precept of courtesy or humanity, have been infringed. The war has been waged on our part, with scrupulous regard to all

these obligations, and in a spirit of liberality which was never surpassed.

How little has been the effect of this example on the conduct of the enemy !

They have retained as prisoners of war citizens of the United States, not liable to be so considered under the usages of war.

They have refused to consider as prisoners of war, and threatened to punish as traitors and deserters, persons, emigrating without restraint to the United States ; incorporated by naturalization into our political family, and fighting under the authority of their adopted country, in open and honourable war, for the maintenance of its rights and safety. Such is the avowed purpose of a government, which is in the practice of naturalizing, by thousands, citizens of other countries, and not only of permitting but compelling them to fight its battles against their native country.

They have not, it is true, taken into their own hands the hatchet and the knife, devoted to indiscriminate massacre ; but they have let loose the savages armed with these cruel instruments ; have allured them into their service, and carried them to battle by their sides, eager to glut their savage thirst with the blood of the vanquished, and to finish the work of torture and death on maimed and defenceless captives. And what was never before seen, British commanders have extorted victory over the unconquerable valour of our troops, by presenting to the sympathy of their chief awaiting massacre from their savage associates.

And now we find them, in further contempt of the modes of honourable warfare, supplying the place of a conquering force, by attempts to disorganize our political

society, to dismember our confederated Republic. Happily, like others, these will recoil on the authors: but they mark the degenerate councils from which they emanate: and if they did not belong to a series of unexampléd inconsistencies, might excite the greater wonder, as proceeding from a government, which founded the very war in which it has been so long engaged, on a charge against the disorganizing and insurrectional policy of its adversary.

To render the justice of the war on our part the more conspicuous, the reluctance to commence it was followed by the earliest and strongest manifestations of a disposition to arrest its progress. The sword was scarcely out of its scabbard before the enemy was apprized of the reasonable terms on which it would be re-sheathed. Still more precise advances were repeated, and have been received in a spirit forbidding every reliance, not placed on the military resources of the nation.

These resources are amply sufficient to bring the war to an honourable issue. Our nation is in number more than half that of the British isles. It is composed of a brave, a free, a virtuous, and an intelligent people. Our country abounds in the necessaries, the arts, and the comforts of life. A general prosperity is visible in the public countenance. The means employed by the British cabinet to undermine it, have recoiled on themselves; have given to our national faculties a more rapid development; and, draining or diverting the precious metals from British circulation and British vaults, have poured them into those of the United States. It is a propitious consideration, that an unvoidable war should have found this seasonable facility for the contributions required to support it. When the public voice called for war, all

knew and still know, that without them it could not be carried on, through the period which it might last ; and the patriotism, the good sense, and the manly spirit of our fellow-citizens, are pledges for the cheerfulness with which they will bear each his share of the common burden. To render the war short, and its success sure, animated and systematic exertions alone are necessary ; and the success of our arms now may long preserve our country from the necessity of another resort to them. Already have the gallant exploits of our naval heroes proved to the world our inherent capacity to maintain our rights on one element. If the reputation of our arms has been thrown under clouds on the other, presaging flashes of heroic enterprise assure us that nothing is wanting to correspondent triumphs there also, but the discipline and habits which are in daily progress.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 7, 1813.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

IN meeting you at the present interesting conjuncture, it would have been highly satisfactory if I could have communicated a favourable result to the mission charged with negotiations for restoring peace. It was a just expectation from the respect due to the distinguished sovereign who had invited them by his offer of mediation, from the readiness with which the invitation was accepted on the part of the United States, and from the pledge to be found in an act of their legislature, for the liberality which their plenipotentiaries would carry into the negotiations, that no time would be lost by the British government in embracing the experiment for hastening a stop to the effusion of blood. A prompt and cordial acceptance of the mediation on that side was the less to be doubted, as it was of a nature not to submit rights or pretensions on either side to the decision of an umpire, but to afford merely an opportunity, honourable and desirable to both, for discussing, and if possible, adjusting them for the interest of both.

The British cabinet, either mistaking our desire of peace for a dread of British power, or misled by other fallacious calculations, has disappointed this reasonable anticipation. No communications from our envoys having reached us, no information on the subject has been received from that source. But it is known that the mediation was declined on the first instance, and there is no

evidence, notwithstanding the lapse of time, that a change of disposition in the British councils has taken place, or is to be expected.

Under such circumstances, a nation proud of its rights and conscious of its strength, has no choice but an exertion of the one in support of the other.

To this determination, the best encouragement is derived from the success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless our arms, both on the land and on the water.

Whilst proofs have been continued of the enterprise and skill of our cruisers, public and private, on the ocean and a new trophy gained in the capture of a British by an American vessel of war, after an action giving celebrity to the name of the victorious commander; the great inland waters, on which the enemy were also to be encountered have presented achievements of our naval arms, as brilliant in their character as they have been important in their consequences.

On lake Erie, the squadron under command of captain Perry, having met the British squadron, of superior force, a sanguinary conflict ended in the capture of the whole. The conduct of that officer, adroit as it was daring, and which was so well seconded by his comrades justly entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of their country; and will fill an early page in its naval annals, with a victory never surpassed in lustre, however much it may have been in magnitude.

On lake Ontario, the caution of the British commander, favoured by contingencies, frustrated the efforts of the American commander to bring on a decisive action. Captain Chauncey was able, however, to establish an ascendancy on that important theatre; and to prove, by the

manner in which he effected every thing possible, that opportunities only were wanted ; for a more shining display of his own talents, and the gallantry of those under his command.

The success on lake Erie having opened a passage to the territory of the enemy, the officer commanding the north western army transferred the war thither ; and rapidly pursuing their hostile troops fleeing with their savage associates, forced a general action, which quickly terminated in the capture of the British, and dispersion of the savage force.

This result is signally honourable to major general Harrison, by whose military talents it was prepared ; to colonel Johnson and his mounted volunteers, whose impetuous onset gave a decisive blow to the ranks of the enemy ; and to the spirit of the volunteer militia, equally brave and patriotic, who bore an interesting part in the scene ; more especially to the chief magistrate of Kentucky at the head of them, whose heroism signalized in the war which established the independence of his country, sought, at an advanced age, a share in hardships and battles, for maintaining its rights and its safety.

The effect of these successes has been to rescue the inhabitants of Michigan from their oppressions, aggravated by gross infractions of the capitulations which subjected them to a foreign power ; to alienate the savages of numerous tribes from the enemy, by whom they were disappointed and abandoned ; and to relieve an extensive region of country from a merciless warfare which desolated its frontiers, and imposed on its citizens the most harassing services.

In consequence of our naval superiority on lake Ontario, and the opportunity afforded by it for concentrating

our forces by water, operations, which had been provisionally planned, were set on foot against the possessions of the enemy on the St. Lawrence. Such, however, was the delay produced in the first instance by adverse weather of unusual violence and continuance, and such the circumstances attending the final movements of the army, that the prospect, at one time so favourable, was not realized.

The cruelty of the enemy, in enlisting the savages into a war with a nation desirous of mutual emulation in mitigating its calamities, has not been confined to any one quarter. Wherever they could be turned against us, no exertions to effect it have been spared. On our southwestern border, the Creek tribes, who, yielding to our persevering endeavours, were gradually acquiring more civilized habits, became the unfortunate victims of seduction. A war in that quarter has been the consequence, infuriated by a bloody fanaticism recently promulgated among them.

It was necessary to suppress such a war before it could spread among the contiguous tribes, and before it could favour enterprises of the enemy in that vicinity. With this view a force was called into the service of the United States from the states of Georgia and Tennessee, which with the nearest regular troops, and other corps from the Mississippi territory, might not only chastise the savages into present peace, but make a lasting impression on their fears.

The progress of the expedition, as far as is yet known, corresponds with the martial zeal with which it was espoused; and the best hopes of a satisfactory issue are authorized by the complete success with which a well planned enterprise was executed against a body of hostile

savages, by a detachment of the volunteer militia of Tennessee, under the gallant command of general Coffee; and by a still more important victory over a larger body of them, gained under the immediate command of major general Jackson, an officer equally distinguished for his patriotism and his military talents.

The systematic perseverance of the enemy in courting the aid of the savages in all quarters, had the natural effect of kindling their ordinary propensity to war into a passion, which, even among those best disposed towards the United States, was ready, if not employed on our side, to be turned against us. A departure from our protracted forbearance to accept the services tendered by them, has thus been forced upon us. But, in yielding to it, the retaliation has been mitigated as much as possible, both in its extent and in its character; stopping far short of the example of the enemy, who owe the advantages they have occasionally gained in battle, chiefly to the number of their savage associates, and who have not controlled them either from their usual practice of indiscriminate massacre on defenceless inhabitants, or from scenes of carnage without a parallel, on prisoners to the British arms, guarded by all the laws of humanity and of honourable war. For these enormities, the enemy are equally responsible, whether with the power to prevent them they want the will, or with a knowledge of a want of power they still avail themselves of such instruments.

In other respects the enemy are pursuing a course which threatens consequences most afflicting to humanity.

A standing law of Great Britain naturalizes, as is well known, all aliens complying with conditions limited to a

shorter period than those required by the United States ; and naturalized subjects are, in war, employed by her government in common with native subjects. In a contiguous British province, regulations promulgated since the commencement of the war, compel citizens of the United States, being there under certain circumstances, to bear arms ; whilst of the native emigrants from the United States, who compose much of the population of the province, a number have actually borne arms against the United States within their limits ; some of whom, after having done so, have become prisoners of war, and are now in our possession. The British commander in that province, nevertheless, with the sanction, as appears, of his government, thought proper to select from American prisoners of war, and send to Great Britain for trial, as criminals, a number of individuals who had emigrated from the British dominions long prior to the state of war between the two nations, who had incorporated themselves into our political society, in the modes recognised by the law and the practice of Great Britain, and who were made prisoners of war under the banners of their adopted country, fighting for its rights and its safety.

The protection due to these citizens requiring an effectual interposition in their behalf, a like number of British prisoners of war were put into confinement, with a notification that they would experience whatever violence might be committed on the American prisoners of war sent to Great Britain.

It was hoped, that this necessary consequence of the step unadvisably taken on the part of Great Britain, would have led her government to reflect on the inconsistencies of its conduct, and that a sympathy with the British, if

not with the American sufferers, would have arrested the cruel career opened by its example.

This was unhappily not the case. In violation both of consistency and of humanity. American officers and non-commissioned officers, in double the number of the British coldiers confined here, were ordered into close confinement, with formal notice, that in the event of a retaliation for the death which might be inflicted on the prisoners of war sent to Great Britain for trial, the officers, so confined would be put to death also. It was notified at the same time, that the commanders of the British fleets and armies on our coasts are instructed, in the same event, to proceed with a destructive severity against our towns and their inhabitants.

That no doubt might be left with the enemy of our adherence to the retaliatory resort imposed on us, a correspondent number of British officers, prisoners of war in our hands, were immediately put into close confinement, to abide the fate of those confined by the enemy; and the British government has been apprized of the determination of this government, to retaliate any other proceedings against us contrary to the legitimate modes of warfare.

It is as fortunate for the United States that they have it in their power to meet the enemy in this deplorable contest, as it is honourable to them, that they do not join in it but under the most imperious obligations, and with the humane purpose of effectuating a return to the established usages of war.

The views of the French government on the subjects which have been so long committed to negotiation, have received no elucidation since the close of your last session. The minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris had not been enabled, by proper opportunities

to press the objects of his mission, as prescribed by his instructions.

The militia being always to be regarded as the great bulwark of defence and security for free states, and the constitution having wisely committed to the national authority the use of that force, as the best provision against an unsafe military establishment, as well as a resource peculiarly adapted to a country having the extent and the exposure of the United States, I recommend to Congress a revision of the militia laws for the purpose of securing, more effectually, the services of all detachments called into the employment and placed under the government of the United States.

It will deserve the consideration of Congress, also, whether, among other improvements in the militia laws, justice does not require a regulation, under due precautions, for defraying the expense incident to the first assembling as well as the subsequent movements of detachments called into the national service.

To give to our vessels of war, public and private, the requisite advantage in their cruises, it is of much importance that they should have, both for themselves and their prizes, the use of the ports and markets of friendly powers. With this view I recommend to Congress the expediency of such legal provision as may supply the defects, or remove the doubts of the executive authority to allow to the cruisers of other powers, at war with enemies of the United States, such use of the American ports as may correspond with the privileges allowed by such powers to American cruisers.

During the year ending on the 30th September last, the receipts into the treasury have exceeded thirty-seven millions and a half of dollars, of which nearly twenty-

Four millions were the produce of loans. After meeting all the demands for the public service, there remained in the treasury on that day near seven millions of dollars. Under the authority contained in the act of the second of August last, for borrowing seven millions and a half of dollars, that sum has been obtained on terms more favourable to the United States than those of the preceding loan made during the present year. Further sums to a considerable amount will be necessary to be obtained in the same way during the ensuing year; and from the increased capital of the country, from the fidelity with which the public engagements have been kept, and the public credit maintained, it may be expected on good grounds that the necessary pecuniary supplies will not be wanting.

The expenses of the current year, from the multiplied operations falling within it, have necessarily been extensive. But on a just estimate of the campaign, in which the mass of them has been incurred, the cost will not be found disproportionate to the advantages which have been gained. The campaign has indeed, in its latter stages in one quarter, been less favourable than was expected, but in addition to the importance of our naval success, the progress of the campaign has been filled with incidents highly honourable to the American arms.

The attacks of the enemy on Craney island, on fort Meigs, on Sackett's harbour and on Sandusky, have been vigorously and successfully repulsed; nor have they in any case succeeded on either frontier, excepting when directed against the peaceable dwellings of individuals, or villages unprepared or undefended.

On the other hand the movements of the American army have been followed by the reduction of York, and

of forts George, Erie, and Malden ; by the recovery of Detroit and the extinction of the Indian war in the west ; and by the occupancy or command of a large portion of Upper Canada. Battles have also been fought on the borders of the St. Lawrence, which, though not accomplishing their entire objects, reflect honour on the discipline and prowess of our soldiery, the best auguries of eventual victory. In the same scale are to be placed the late successes in the south, over one of the most powerful, which had become one of the most hostile also, of the Indian tribes.

It would be improper to close this communication without expressing a thankfulness, in which all ought to unite for the the numerous blessings with which our beloved country continues to be favoured ; for the abundance which overspreads our land, and the prevailing health of its inhabitants ; for the preservation of our internal tranquillity, and the stability of our free institutions ; and above all for the light of divine truth, and the protection of every man's conscience in the enjoyment of it. And although among our blessings we cannot number an exemption from the evils of war ; yet these will never be regarded as the greatest of evils, by the friends of liberty and of the rights of nations. Our country has before preferred them to the degraded condition which was the alternative when the sword was drawn in the cause which gave birth to our national independence ; and none who contemplate the magnitude, and feel the value of that glorious event, will shrink from a struggle to maintain the high and happy ground on which it placed the American people.

With all good citizens, the justice and necessity of resisting wrongs and usurpations no longer to be borne, will

sufficiently outweigh the privations and sacrifices inseparable from a state of war. But it is a reflection, moreover, peculiarly consoling, that whilst wars are generally aggravated by their baneful effects on the internal improvements and permanent prosperity of the nations engaged in them, such is the favoured situation of the United States, that the calamities of the contest into which they have been compelled to enter, are mitigated by improvements and advantages of which the contest itself is the source.

If the war has increased the interruptions of our commerce, it has at the same time cherished and multiplied our manufactures, so as to make us independent of all other countries for the more essential branches, for which we ought to be dependent on none; and is even rapidly giving them an extent which will create additional staples in our future intercourse with foreign markets.

If much treasure has been expended, no inconsiderable portion of it has been applied to objects durable in their value, and necessary to our permanent safety.

If the war has exposed us to increased spoliations on the ocean, and to predatory incursions on the land, it has developed the national means of retaliating the former, and of providing protection against the latter, demonstrating to all, that every blow aimed at our maritime independence, is an impulse accelerating the growth of our maritime power.

By diffusing through the mass of the nation the elements of military discipline and instruction, by augmenting and distributing warlike preparations, applicable to future use, by evincing the zeal and valour with which they will be employed, and the cheerfulness with which every necessary burden will be borne; a greater respect

for our rights and a longer duration of our future peace, are promised, than could be expected without these proofs of the national character and resources.

The war has proved, moreover, that our free government, like other free governments, though slow in its early movements, acquires in its progress a force proportioned to its freedom; and that the union of these States, the guardian of the freedom and safety of all and of each, is strengthened by every occasion that puts it to the test.

In fine, the war with all its vicissitudes, is illustrating the capacity and the destiny of the United States to be a great, a flourishing, and a powerful nation; worthy of the friendship which it is disposed to cultivate with all others; and authorized, by its own example, to require from all an observance of the laws of justice and reciprocity. Beyond these their claims have never extended; and in contending for these, we behold a subject for our congratulations, in the daily testimonies of increasing harmony throughout the nation, and may humbly repose our trust in the smiles of heaven on so righteous a cause.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, SEPT. 20, 1814.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

NOTWITHSTANDING the early day which had been fixed for your session of the present year, I was induced to call you together still sooner, as well that any inadequacy in the existing provisions for the wants of the treasury might be supplied, as that no delay might happen in providing for the result of the negotiations on foot with Great Britain, whether it should require arrangements adapted to a return of peace or further and more effective provisions for prosecuting the war.

That result is not yet known. If, on one hand, the repeal of the orders in council, and the general pacification in Europe, which withdrew the occasion on which impressments from American vessels were practised, suggest expectations that peace and amity may be re-established; we are compelled, on the other hand, by the refusal of the British government to accept the offered mediation of the emperor of Russia; by the delays in giving effect to its own proposal of a direct negotiation; and above all by the principles and manner in which the war is now avowedly carried on, to infer that a spirit of hostility is indulged more violent than ever, against the rights and prosperity of this country.

This increased violence is best explained by the two important circumstances, that the great contest in Europe for an equilibrium guarantying all its states against the

ambition of any. has been closed without any check on the overbearing power of Great Britain on the ocean; and that it has left in her hands disposable armaments, with which forgetting the difficulties of a remote war against a free people: and yielding to the intoxication of success, with the example of a great victim to it before her eyes, she cherishes hopes of still further agrandizing a power already formidable in its abuses to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world.

But, whatever may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation, more able to maintain than it was to acquire its independence, and with a devotion to it, rendered more ardent by the experience of its blessings, can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating the extravagant views or unwarrantable passions, with which alone the war can now be pursued against us.

In the events of the present campaign, the enemy with all his augmented means, and wanton use of them, has little ground for exultation, unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprises against this metropolis, and the neighbouring town of Alexandria; from both of which his retreats were as precipitate, as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighbouring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals, and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare. And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, he will find in his transient success which interrupted for a moment only, the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation for the loss of character with the world, by his violations of

private property, and by his destruction of public edifices, protected, as monuments of the arts, by the laws of civilized warfare.

On our side we can appeal to a series of achievements, which have given new lustre to the American arms. Besides the brilliant incidents in the minor operations of the campaign, the splendid victories gained on the Canadian side of the Niagara, by the American forces under major general Brown, and brigadiers Scott and Gaines, have gained for these heroes and their emulating companions, the most unfading laurels ; and having triumphantly tested the progressive discipline of the American soldiery, have taught the enemy, that the longer he protracts his hostile efforts, the more certain and decisive will be his final discomfiture.

On our southern border, victory has continued also to follow the American standard. The bold and skilful operations of major general Jackson, conducting troops drawn from the militia of the states least distant, particularly of Tennessee, have subdued the principal tribes of hostile savages, and, by establishing a peace with them, preceded by recent and exemplary chastisement, has best guarded against the mischief of their co-operation with the British enterprises which may be planned against that quarter of our country. Important tribes of Indians on our north western frontier, have also acceded to stipulations which bind them to the interests of the United States, and to consider our enemy as theirs also.

In the recent attempt of the enemy on the city of Baltimore, defended by militia and volunteers, aided by a small body of regulars and seamen, he was received with a spirit which produced a rapid retreat to his ships ; whilst a concurrent attack by a large fleet was success-

fully resisted by the steady and well-directed fire of the fort and batteries opposed to it.

In another recent attack by a powerful force on our troops at Plattsburg, of which regulars made a part only of the enemy, after a perseverance for many hours, was finally compelled to seek safety in a hasty retreat with our gallant bands pressing upon him.

On the lakes, so much contested throughout the war, the great exertions for the command made on our part have been well repaid. On lake Ontario our squadron is now, and has been for some time, in a condition to confine that of the enemy to his own port, and to favour the operations of our land forces on that frontier.

A part of the squadron on lake Erie has been extended into lake Huron, and has produced the advantage of displaying our command on that lake also. One object of the expedition was the reduction of Mackinaw, which failed with the loss of a few brave men, among whom was an officer justly distinguished for his gallant exploits. The expedition, ably conducted by both the land and the naval commanders, was otherwise highly valuable in its effects.

On lake Champlain, where our superiority had for some time been undisputed, the British squadron lately came into action, with the American, commanded by captain Macdonough. It issued in the capture of the whole of the enemy's ships. The best praise for this officer and his intrepid comrades is in the likeness of his triumph to the illustrious victory, which immortalized another officer and established, at a critical moment, our command of another lake.

On the ocean the pride of our naval arms has been amply supported. A second frigate has indeed fallen in-

to the hands of the enemy, but the loss is hidden in the blaze of heroism with which she was defended. Captain Porter, who commanded her, and whose previous career had been distinguished by daring enterprise and by fertility of genius maintained a sanguinary contest against two ships, one of them superior to his own, and under other severe disadvantages, till humanity tore down the colours which valour had nailed to the mast. This officer and his brave comrades have added much to the rising glory of the American flag, and have merited all the effusions of gratitude which their country is ever ready to bestow on the champions of its rights and of its safety.

Two smaller vessels of war have also become prizes to the enemy, but by a superiority of force, which sufficiently vindicates the reputation of their commanders; whilst two others, one commanded by captain Warrington, the other by captain Blakely, have captured British ships of the same class, with a gallantry and good conduct, which entitle them, and their companions, to a just share in the praise of their country.

In spite of the naval force of the enemy accumulated on our coasts, our private cruisers also have not ceased to annoy his commerce, and to bring their rich prizes into our ports; contributing thus, with other proofs, to demonstrate the incompetency and illegality of a blockade, the proclamation of which is made the pretext for vexing and discouraging the commerce of neutral powers with the United States.

To meet the extended and diversified warfare adopted by the enemy, great bodies of militia have been taken into service for the public defence, and great expenses incurred. That the defence every where may be both more convenient and more economical, Congress will see the

necessity of immediate measures for filling the ranks of the regular army, and of enlarging the provision for special corps, mounted and unmounted, to be engaged for longer periods of service than are due from the militia. I earnestly renew, at the same time a recommendation of such changes in the system of the militia, as by classing and disciplining for the most prompt and active service the portions most capable of it, will give to that great resource for the public safety, all the requisite energy and efficiency.

The moneys received into the treasury during the nine months ending on the thirtieth day of June last, amounted to thirty-two millions of dollars, of which near eleven millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceeded thirty-four millions of dollars, and left in the treasury, on the first day of July near five millions of dollars. The demands during the remainder of the present year already authorized by Congress, and the expenses incident to an extension of the operations of the war, will render it necessary that large sums should be provided to meet them.

From this view of the national affairs, Congress will be urged to take up without delay, as well the subject of pecuniary supplies as that of military force, and on a scale commensurate with the extent and the character which the war has assumed. It is not to be disguised, that the situation of our country calls for its greatest efforts. Our enemy is powerful in men and money; on the land and on the water. Availing himself of fortuitous advantages, he is aiming, with his undivided force, a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence. He

has avowed his purpose of trampling on the usages of civilized warfare, and given earnestness of it, in the plunder and wanton destruction of private property. In his pride of maritime dominion, and in his thirst of commercial monopoly, he strikes with peculiar animosity at the progress of our navigation and our manufactures. His barbarous policy has not even spared those monuments of the arts and models of taste, with which our country had enriched and embellished its infant metropolis. From such an adversary, hostility in its greatest force and in its worst forms, may be looked for. The American people will face it with the undaunted spirit, which in their revolutionary struggle defeated his unrighteous projects. His threats and his barbarities, instead of dismay, will kindle in every bosom an indignation not to be extinguished but in the disaster and expulsion of such cruel invaders. In providing the means necessary, the national legislature will not distrust the heroic and enlightened patriotism of its constituents. They will cheerfully and proudly bear every burden of every kind, which the safety and honour of the nation demand. We have seen them every where paying their taxes, direct and indirect, with the greatest promptness and alacrity. We see them rushing with enthusiasm to the scenes where danger and duty call. In offering their blood, they give the surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld.

Having forborne to declare war until to other aggressions had been added the capture of nearly a thousand American vessels, and the impressment of thousands of American seafaring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked, but on conditions as impossible as unjust; whilst

it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war which had lasted nearly twenty years, and which, according to appearances at that time, might last as many more ; having manifested on every occasion, and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to arrest the effusion of blood, and meet our enemy on the ground of justice and reconciliation, our beloved country, in still opposing to his persevering hostility, all its energies with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONGRESS, FEB. 18, 1815.

I LAY before Congress copies of the treaty of peace and amity between the United States and his Britannic majesty, which was signed by the commissioners of both parties at Ghent, on the 24th of December 1814, and the ratifications of which have been duly exchanged.

While performing this act, I congratulate you, and our constituents, upon an event which is highly honourable to the nation, and terminates with peculiar felicity, a campaign signalized by the most brilliant successes.

The late war, although reluctantly declared by Congress, had become a necessary resort, to assert the rights and independence of the nation. It has been waged with a success which is the natural result of the wisdom of the legislative councils, of the patriotism of the people, of the public spirit of the militia, and of the valour of the military and naval forces of the country. Peace, at all times a blessing, is peculiarly welcome, therefore, at a period when the causes for the war have ceased to operate; when the government has demonstrated the efficiency of its powers of defence; and when the nation can review its conduct without regret, and without reproach.

I recommend to your care and beneficence, the gallant men, whose achievements, in every department of the military service, on the land, and on the water, have so essentially contributed to the honour of the American name, and to the restoration of peace. The feelings of conscious patriotism and worth, will animate such men, under every change of fortune and pursuit; but their

country performs a duty to itself, when it bestows those testimonials of approbation and applause, which are, at once, the reward and the incentive to great actions.

The reduction of the public expenditures to the demands of a peace establishment, will, doubtless engage the immediate attention of Congress. There are, however, important considerations which forbid a sudden and general revocation of the measures that have been produced by the war. Experience has taught us that neither the pacific dispositions of the American people, nor the pacific character of their political institutions, can altogether exempt them from that strife which appears, beyond the ordinary lot of nations, to be incident to the actual period of the world; and the same faithful monitor demonstrates that a certain degree of preparation for war, is not only indispensable to avert disasters in the onset, but affords also the best security for the continuance of peace. The wisdom of Congress will, therefore, I am confident, provide for the maintenance of an adequate regular force; for the gradual advancement of the naval establishment; for improving all the means of harbour defence; for adding discipline to the distinguished bravery of the militia; and for cultivating the military art, in its essential branches, under the liberal patronage of government.

The resources of our country were, at all times, competent to the attainment of every national object; but they will now be enriched and invigorated by the activity which peace will introduce into all the scenes of domestic enterprize and labour. The provision that has been made for the public creditors, during the present session of Congress, must have decisive effect in the establishment of the public credit, both at home and abroad. The

reviving interests of commerce will claim the legislative attention at the earliest opportunity ; and such regulations will, I trust, be seasonably devised as shall secure to the United States their just proportion of the navigation of the world. The most liberal policy towards other nations if met by corresponding dispositions, will, in this respect, be found the most beneficial policy towards ourselves. But there is no subject that can enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of Congress, than a consideration of the means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence, and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars. This source of national independence and wealth, I anxiously recommend, therefore, to the prompt and constant guardianship of Congress.

The termination of the legislative sessions will soon separate you, fellow-citizens, from each other, and restore you to your constituents. I pray you to bear with you the expressions of my sanguine hope, that the peace which has been just declared, will not only be the foundation of the most friendly intercourse between the United States and Great Britain, but that it will also be productive of happiness and harmony in every section of our beloved country. The influence of your precepts and example must be every where powerful : and while we accord in grateful acknowledgments for the protection which Providence has bestowed upon us, let us never cease to inculcate obedience to the laws, and fidelity to the Union, as constituting the palladium of the national independence and prosperity.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 5, 1815.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

I HAVE the satisfaction, on our present meeting, of being able to communicate to you the successful termination of the war which had been commenced against the United States by the regency of Algiers. The squadron in advance on that service, under commodore Decatur, lost not a moment after its arrival in the Mediterranean, in seeking the naval force of the enemy then cruising in that sea, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, one of them the principal ship, commanded by the Algerine admiral. The high character of the American commander was brilliantly sustained, on the occasion, which brought his own ship into close action with that of his adversary, as was the accustomed gallantry of all the officers and men actually engaged. Having prepared the way by this demonstration of American skill and prowess, he hastened to the port of Algiers, where peace was promptly yielded to his victorious force. In the terms stipulated, the rights and honour of the United States were particularly consulted by a perpetual relinquishment, on the part of the dey, of all pretensions to tribute from them. The impressions which have thus been made, strengthened as they will have been by subsequent transactions with the regencies of Tunis and of Tripoli, by the appearance of the larger force which followed under commodore Bainbridge, the chief in command of the expedition, and by the judicious precautionary arrangements left by him in that quarter, af-

ford a reasonable prospect of future security, for the valuable portion of our commerce which passes within the reach of the Barbary cruisers.

It is another source of satisfaction that the treaty of peace with Great Britain has been succeeded by a convention on the subject of commerce, concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the two countries. In this result a disposition is manifested on the part of that nation, corresponding with the disposition of the United States, which, it may be hoped, will be improved into liberal arrangements on other subjects, on which the parties have mutual interests, or which might endanger their future harmony. Congress will decide on the expediency of promoting such a sequel, by giving effect to the measure of confining the American navigation to American seamen; a measure which, at the same time that it might have that conciliatory tendency, would have the further advantage of encreasing the independence of our navigation, and the resources for our maritime defence.

In conformity with the articles in the treaty of Ghent, relating to the Indians, as well as with a view to the tranquility of our western and north western frontiers, measures were taken to establish an immediate peace with the several tribes who had been engaged in hostilities against the United States. Such of them as were invited to Detroit acceded readily to a renewal of the former treaties of friendship. Of the other tribes who were invited to a station on the Mississippi, the greater number have also accepted the peace offered to them. The residue consisting of the more distant tribes or parts of tribes remain to be brought over by further explanations, or by such other means as may be adapted to the dispositions they may finally disclose.

The Indian tribes within, and bordering on the southern frontier, whom a cruel war on their part had compelled us to chastise into peace, have latterly shown a restlessness, which has called for preparatory measures for repressing it, and for protecting the commissioners engaged in carrying the terms of the peace into execution.

The execution of the Act for fixing the military peace establishment, has been attended with difficulties which even now can only be overcome by legislative aid. The selection of officers; the payment and discharge of the troops enlisted for the war; the payment of the retained troops, and their re-union from detached and distant stations; the collection and security of the public property in the quarter-master, commissary, and ordnance departments; and the constant medical assistance required in hospitals and garisons, rendered a complete execution of the act impracticable on the first of May, the period more immediately contemplated. As soon, however, as circumstances would permit, and as far as it has been practicable, consistently with the public interests, the reduction of the army has been accomplished; but the appropriations for its pay and for other branches of the military service, having proved inadequate, the earliest attention to that subject will be necessary; and the expediency of continuing upon the peace establishment, the staff officers who have hitherto been provisionally retained, is also recommended to the consideration of Congress.

In the performance of the executive duty upon this occasion, there has not been wanting a just sensibility to the merits of the American army during the late war but the obvious policy and design in fixing an efficient military peace establishment did not afford an opportunity

to distinguish the aged and infirm, on account of their past services ; nor the wounded and disabled, on account of their present sufferings. The extent of the reduction indeed unavoidably involved the exclusion of many meritorious officers of every rank from the service of their country ; and so equal, as well as so numerous were the claims to attention, that a decision by the standard of comparative merit, could seldom be attained. Judged, however, in candour, by a general standard of positive merit, the army register will, it is believed, do honour to the establishment ; whilst the case of those officers, whose names are not included in it, devolves, with the strongest interest upon the legislative authority, for such provision as shall be deemed the best calculated to give support and solace to the veteran and the invalid ; to display the beneficence, as well as the justice of the government ; and to inspire a martial zeal for the public service upon every future emergency.

Although the embarrassments arising from the want of an uniform national currency have been diminished since the adjournment of Congress, great satisfaction has been derived in contemplating the revival of the public credit and the efficiency of the public resources. The receipts into the treasury, from the various branches of revenue, during the nine months ending on the 30th of September last, have been estimated at twelve million and a half of dollars ; the issues of treasury notes of every denomination, during the same period, amounted to the sum of fourteen millions of dollars : and there was also obtained upon loan, during the same period, a sum of nine millions of dollars ; of which the sum of six millions of dollars was subscribed in cash, and the sum of three millions of dollars in treasury notes. With these means, added to the

sum of one million and a half of dollars, being the balance of money in the treasury on the 1st of January, there has been paid, between the 1st of January and the 1st of October, on account of the appropriations of the preceding and of the present year, (exclusively of the amount of the treasury notes subscribed to the loan, and of the amount redeemed in the payment of duties and taxes,) the aggregate sum of thirty-three millions and a half of dollars, leaving a balance then in the treasury estimated at the sum of three millions of dollars. Independent, however, of the arrearages due for military services and supplies, it is presumed, that a further sum of five millions of dollars, including the interest on the public debt payable on the 1st of January next, will be demanded at the treasury to complete the expenditures of the present year, and for which the existing ways and means will sufficiently provide.

The national debt, as it was ascertained on the first of October last, amounted in the whole to the sum of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, consisting of the unredeemed balance of the debt contracted before the late war, (thirty-nine millions of dollars,) the amount of the funded debt contracted in consequence of the war, (sixty-four millions of dollars,) and the amount of the unfunded and floating debt, (including the various issues of treasury notes,) seventeen millions of dollars, which is in a gradual course of payment. There will, probably, be some addition to the public debt, upon the liquidation of various claims, which are depending; and a conciliatory disposition on the part of Congress may lead honourably and advantageously to an equitable arrangement of the militia expenses, incurred by the several States, without the previous sanction or authority of the

government of the United States : but when it is considered that the new, as well as the old portion of the debt has been contracted in the assertion of the national rights and independence ; and when it is recollected, that the public expenditures, not being exclusively bestowed upon subjects of a transient nature, will long be visible in the number and equipments of the American navy, in the military works for the defence of our harbours and our frontiers, and in the supplies of our arsenals and magazines ; the amount will bear a gratifying comparison with the objects which have been attained, as well as with the resources of the country.

The arrangements of the finances, with a view to the receipts and expenditures of a permanent peace establishment, will necessarily enter into the deliberations of Congress during the present session. It is true that the improved condition of the public revenue will not only afford the means of maintaining the faith of the government with its creditors inviolate, and of prosecuting, successfully, the measures of the most liberal policy ; but will, also justify an immediate alleviation of the burdens imposed by the necessities of the war. It is, however, essential to every modification of the finances, that the benefits of an uniform national currency should be restored to the community. The absence of the precious metals will, it is believed, be a temporary evil ; but, until they can again be rendered the general medium of exchange, it devolves on the wisdom of Congress, to provide a substitute, which shall equally engage the confidence, and accommodate the wants, of the citizens throughout the union. If the operation of the state banks cannot produce this result, the probable operation of a National Bank will merit consideration ; and, if neither of these expedients be deemed

effectual it may become necessary to ascertain the terms upon which the notes of the government (no longer required as an instrument of credit) shall be issued, upon motives of general policy, as a common medium of circulation.

Notwithstanding the security for future repose, which the United States ought to find in their love of peace, and their constant respect for the rights of other nations, the character of the times particularly inculcates the lesson, that, whether to prevent or repel danger, we ought not to be unprepared for it. This consideration will sufficiently recommend to Congress a liberal provision for the immediate extension, and gradual completion, of the works of defence, both fixed and floating, on our maritime frontier; and an adequate provision for guarding our inland frontier against dangers to which certain portions of it may continue to be exposed.

As an improvement in our military establishment, it will deserve the consideration of Congress, whether a corps of invalids might not be so organized and employed, as at once to give support to meritorious individuals, excluded by age or infirmities, from the existing establishment, and to preserve to the public, the benefit of their stationary services, and of their exemplary discipline. I recommend, also, an enlargement of the military academy, already established, and the establishment of others in other sections of the union. And I cannot press too much on the attention of Congress, such a classification and organization of the militia, as will most effectually render it the safeguard of a free state. If experience has shewn in the recent splendid achievements of militia, the value of this resource for the public defence, it has shewn also the importance of that skill in the use of arms, and

that familiarity with the essential rules of discipline, which cannot be expected from the regulations now in force. With this subject is intimately connected the necessity of accommodating the laws in every respect, to the great object of enabling the political authority of the union, to employ, promptly and effectually, the physical power of the union, in the cases designated by the constitution.

The signal services which have been rendered by our navy, and the capacities it has developed for successful co-operation in the national defence, will give to that portion of the public force, its full value in the eyes of Congress, at an epoch which calls for the constant vigilance of all governments. To preserve the ships now in sound state; to complete those already contemplated; to provide amply the imperishable materials for prompt augmentations, and to improve the existing arrangements into more advantageous establishments. for the construction, the repairs, and the security of vessels of war, is dictated by the soundest policy.

In adjusting the duties on imports, to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures, will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be, which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies, of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches that so many circumstances must concur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even pecu-

liably fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress, and exhibited an efficiency, which justify the belief, that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become, at an early day, not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth, and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures, for articles necessary for the public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures, where the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and insure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence, an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded.

Among the means of advancing the public interest, the occasion is a proper one for recalling the attention of congress to the great importance of establishing throughout our country the roads and canals which can best be executed, under the national authority. No objects within the circle of political economy so richly repay the expense bestowed on them; there are none, the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; none that do more honour to the governments whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciates them. Nor is there any country which presents a field, where nature invites more the art of man, to complete her own work

for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication, in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. Whilst the states, individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages, by new roads, by navigable canals, and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the general government is the more urged to similar undertakings, requiring a national jurisdiction, and national means, by the prospect of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work. And it is a happy reflection, that any defect of constitutional authority, which may be encountered, can be supplied in a mode which the constitution itself has providently pointed out.

The present is a favourable season also for bringing again into view the establishment of a national seminary of learning within the District of Columbia, and with means drawn from the property therein subject to the authority of the general government. Such an institution claims the patronage of Congress, as a monument of their solicitude for the advancement of knowledge, without which the blessings of liberty cannot be fully enjoyed, or long preserved; as a model instructive in the information of other seminaries; as a nursery of enlightened preceptors; and as a central resort of youth and genius from every part of their country, diffusing on their return examples of those national feelings, those liberal sentiments, and those congenial manners which contribute cement to our union and strength to the great political fabric, of which that is the foundation.

In closing this communication I ought not to repress a sensibility, in which you will unite, to the happy lot of our country, and the goodness of a superintending Providence to which we are indebted for it. Whilst other portions of mankind are labouring under the distresses of war, or struggling with adversity in other forms, the United States are in the tranquil enjoyment of prosperous and honourable peace. In reviewing the scenes through which it has been attained, we can rejoice in the proofs given, that our political institutions, founded in human rights, and framed for their preservation, are equal to the severest trials of war, as well as adapted to the ordinary periods of repose. As fruits of this experience, and of the reputation acquired by the American arms, on the land and on the water, the nation finds itself possessed of a growing respect abroad, and of a just confidence in itself, which are among the best pledges for its peaceful career. Under other aspects of our country, the strongest features of its flourishing condition are seen, in a population rapidly increasing, on a territory as productive as it is extensive; in a general industry, and fertile ingenuity, which find their ample rewards; and in an affluent revenue, which admits a reduction of the public burdens, without withdrawing the means of sustaining the public credit, of gradually discharging the public debt, of providing for the necessary defensive and precautionary establishments, and of patronizing, in every authorized mode, undertakings conducive to the aggregate wealth and individual comfort of our citizens.

It remains for the guardians of the public welfare, to persevere in that justice and good will towards other nations, which invite a return of these sentiments towards the United States; to cherish institutions which

guarantee their safety, and their liberties, civil and religious; and to combine with a liberal system of foreign commerce, an improvement of the national advantages, and a protection and extension of the independent resources of our highly favoured and happy country.

In all measures having such objects, my faithful co-operation will be afforded.

JAMES MADISON.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 3, 1816.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

IN reviewing the present state of our country, our attention cannot be withheld from the effect produced by peculiar seasons, which have very generally impaired the annual gifts of the earth, and threatened scarcity in particular districts. Such, however, is the variety of soils, of climates, and of products, within our extensive limits, that the aggregate resources for subsistence are more than sufficient for the aggregate wants. And as far as an economy of consumption, more than usual, may be necessary, our thankfulness is due to Providence, for what is far more than a compensation, in the remarkable health which has distinguished the present year.

Amidst the advantages which have succeeded the peace of Europe, and that of the United States with Great Britain, in a general invigoration of industry among us, and in the extension of our commerce, the value of which is more and more disclosing itself to commercial nations, it is to be regretted that a depression is experienced by particular branches of our manufactures, and by a portion of our navigation. As the first proceeds, in an essential degree, from an excess of imported merchandise, which carries a check in its own tendency, the cause, in its present extent, cannot be of very long duration. The evil will not, however, be viewed by Congress, without a recollection, that manufacturing establishments, if suffered to sink too low, or languish too long, may not re-

vive, after the causes shall have ceased ; and that, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, situations may recur, in which a dependence on foreign sources, for indispensable supplies, may be among the most serious embarrassments.

The depressed state of our navigation, is to be ascribed in a material degree, to its exclusion from the colonial ports of the nation most extensively connected with us in commerce, and from the indirect operation of that exclusion.

Previous to the late Convention at London, between the United States and Great Britain, the relative state of the navigation laws of the two countries, growing out of the treaty of 1794, had given to the British navigation a material advantage over the American, in the intercourse between the American ports and British ports in Europe. The Convention of London, equalized the laws of the two countries, relating to those ports ; leaving the intercourse between our ports and the ports of the British colonies, subject, as before, to the respective regulations of the parties. The British government enforcing, now, regulations which prohibit a trade between its colonies and the United States, in American vessels, whilst they permit a trade in British vessels, the American navigation loses accordingly ; and the loss is augmented by the advantage which is given to the British competition over the American, in the navigation between our ports and British ports in Europe, by the circuitous voyages, enjoyed by the one, and not enjoyed by the other.

The reasonableness of the rule of reciprocity, applied to one branch of the commercial intercourse, has been pressed on our part, as equally applicable to both branch-

es : but it is ascertained, that the British Cabinet declines all negotiation on the subject ; with a disavowal, however, of any disposition to view, in an unfriendly light whatever countervailing regulations the United States may oppose to the regulations of which they complain. The wisdom of the legislature will decide on the course, which, under these circumstances, is prescribed by a joint regard to the amicable relations between the two nations and to the just interests of the United States.

I have the satisfaction to state generally, that we remain in amity with foreign powers.

An occurrence has, indeed, taken place in the Gulf of Mexico, which, if sanctioned by the Spanish government may make an exception as to that power. According to the report of our naval commander on that station, one of our public armed vessels was attacked by an overpowering force, under a Spanish commander, and the American flag, with the officers and crew, insulted, in a manner calling for prompt reparation. This has been demanded. In the mean time, a frigate and a smaller vessel of war have been ordered into that Gulf, for the protection of our commerce. It would be improper to omit, that the representative of his Catholic majesty in the United States, lost no time in giving the strongest assurances, that no hostile order could have emanated from his government, and that it will be as ready to do, as to expect, whatever the nature of the case and the friendly relations of the two countries shall be found to require.

The posture of our affairs with Algiers, at the present moment, is not known. The Dey, drawing pretexts from circumstances, for which the United States were not answerable, addressed a letter to this government, declaring the treaty last concluded with him, to have been an-

nulled by our violation of it; and presenting, as the alternative, war, or a renewal of the former treaty, which stipulated among other things, an annual tribute. The answer, with an explicit declaration that the United States preferred war to tribute, required his recognition and observance of the treaty last made, which abolishes tribute, and the slavery of our captured citizens. The result of the answer has not been received. Should he renew his warfare on our commerce, we rely on the protection it will find in our naval force actually in the Mediterranean.

With the other Barbary states our affairs have undergone no change.

The Indian tribes within our limits appear also disposed to remain at peace. From several of them purchases of lands have been made, particularly favourable to the wishes and security of our frontier settlements, as well as to the general interests of the nation. In some instances, the titles, though not supported by due proof, and clashing those of one tribe with the claims of another, have been extinguished by double purchases; the benevolent policy of the United States preferring the augmented expense, to the hazard of doing injustice, or to the enforcement of justice against a feeble and untutored people, by means involving or threatening an effusion of blood. I am happy to add, that the tranquillity which has been restored among the tribes themselves, as well as between them and our own population, will favour the resumption of the work of civilization, which had made an encouraging progress among some tribes; and that the facility is encreasing, for extending that divided and individual ownership, which exists now in moveable property only, to the soil itself; and of thus

establishing in the culture and improvement of it, the true foundation for a transit from the habits of the savage, to the arts and comfort of social life.

As a subject of the highest importance to the national welfare, I must, again, earnestly recommend to the consideration of Congress, a re-organization of the militia, on a plan which will form it into classes, according to the periods of life more and less adapted to military services. An efficient militia is authorized and contemplated by the constitution, and required by the spirit and safety of free government. The present organization of our militia is universally regarded as less efficient than it ought to be made; and no organization can be better calculated to give to it its due force, than a classification which will assign the foremost place in the defence of the country, to that portion of its citizens, whose activity and animation best enable them to rally to its standard. Besides, the consideration that a time of peace is the time when the change can be made with most convenience and equity, it will now be aided by the experience of a recent war, in which the militia bore so interesting a part.

Congress will call to mind, that no adequate provision has yet been made, for the uniformity of weights and measures, also contemplated by the constitution. The great utility of a standard, fixed in its nature, and founded on the easy rule of decimal proportions, is sufficiently obvious. It led the government at an early stage, to preparatory steps for introducing it; and a completion of the work will be a just title to the public gratitude.

The importance which I have attached to the establishment of a University within this District, on a scale, and for objects worthy of the American nation, induces me to renew my recommendation of it to the favourable

consideration of Congress. And I particularly invite, again, their attention to the expediency of exercising their existing powers, and, where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country, by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by encreasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity.

Occurrences having taken place which shew that the statutory provisions for the dispensation of criminal justice, are deficient in relation both to places and to persons, under the exclusive cognizance of the national authority, an amendment of the law, embracing such cases, will merit the earliest attention of the legislature. It will be a seasonable occasion, also, for inquiring how far legislative interposition may be further requisite in providing penalties for offences designated in the constitution or in the statutes, and to which either no penalties are annexed, or none with sufficient certainty. and I submit to the wisdom of Congress, whether a more enlarged revisal of the criminal code be not expedient, for the purpose of mitigating, in certain cases, penalties which were adopted into it, antecedent to experiment and examples which justify and recommend a more lenient policy.

The United States having been the first to abolish, within the extent of their authority, the transportation of the natives of Africa into slavery, by prohibiting the introduction of slaves, and by punishing their citizens participating in the traffic, cannot but be gratified at the progress, made by concurrent efforts of other nations, towards a general suppression of so great an evil. They must feel, at the same time, the greater solicitude to give the

fullest efficacy to their own regulations. With that view the interposition of Congress appears to be required by violations and evasions which, it is suggested, are chargeable on unworthy citizens, who mingle in the slave trade under foreign flags, and with foreign ports; and by collusive importations of slaves into the United States, through adjoining ports and territories. I present the subject to Congress, with a full assurance of their disposition to apply all the remedy which can be afforded by an amendment of the law. The regulations which were intended to guard against abuses of a kindred character, in the trade between the several States, ought also to be rendered more effectual for their humane object.

To these recommendations I add, for the consideration of Congress, the expediency of a re-modification of the Judiciary establishment, and of an additional department in the executive branch of the government.

The first is called for by the accruing business which necessarily swells the duties of the federal courts; and by the great and widening space, within which justice is to be dispensed by them. The time seems to have arrived which claims for members of the supreme court a relief from itinerary fatigues, incompatible as well with the age which a portion of them will always have attained, as with the researches and preparations which are due to their stations, and to the juridical reputation of their country. And considerations equally cogent require a more convenient organization of the subordinate tribunals, which may be accomplished without an objectionable increase of the number or expense of the judges.

The extent and variety of executive business also accumulating with the progress of our country and its growing population, call for an additional department, to

be charged with duties now overburdening other departments, and with such as have not been annexed to any department.

The course of experience recommends, as another improvement in the executive establishment, that the provision for the station of attorney general, whose residence at the seat of government, official connexions with it, and management of the public business before the judiciary, preclude an extensive participation in professional emoluments, be made more adequate to his services and his relinquishments; and that with a view to his reasonable accommodation, and to a proper depository of his official opinions and proceedings, there be included in the provision, the usual appurtenances to a public office.

In directing the legislative attention to the state of the finances, it is a subject of great gratification to find, that, even within the short period which has elapsed since the return of peace, the revenue has far exceeded all the current demands upon the treasury, and that, under any probable diminution of its future annual products, which the vicissitudes of commerce may occasion, it will afford an ample fund for the effectual and early extinguishment of the public debt. It has been estimated, that during the year 1816, the actual receipts of revenue at the treasury, including the balance at the commencement of the year, and excluding the proceeds of loans and treasury notes, will amount to about the sum of forty-seven millions of dollars; that during the same year, the actual payments at the treasury, including the payment of the arrearages of the War Department, as well as the payment of a considerable excess, beyond the annual appropriations, will amount to about the sum of thirty-eight millions of dollars; and that, consequently, at the close of the year,

there will be a surplus in the treasury of about the sum of nine millions of dollars.

The operations of the treasury continue to be obstructed by difficulties, arising from the condition of the national currency, but they have, nevertheless, been effectual, to a beneficial extent, in the reduction of the public debt, and the establishment of the public credit. The floating debt of treasury, notes and temporary loans, will soon be entirely discharged. The aggregate of the funded debt, composed of debts incurred during the wars of 1776 and 1812, has been estimated, with reference to the first of January next, at a sum not exceeding one hundred and ten millions of dollars. The ordinary annual expenses of the government, for the maintenance of all its institutions, civil, military, and naval, have been estimated at a sum less than twenty millions of dollars. And the permanent revenue, to be derived from all the existing sources, have been estimated at a sum of about twenty millions of dollars.

Upon this general view of the subject, it is obvious, that there is only wanting, to the fiscal prosperity of the government, the restoration of an uniform medium of exchange. The resources and the faith of the nation, displayed in the system which Congress has established, ensure respect and confidence both at home and abroad. The local accumulations of the revenue have already enabled the treasury to meet the public engagements in the local currency of most of the states: and it is expected that the same cause will produce the same effect throughout the Union. But, for the interests of the community at large, as well as for the purposes of the treasury, it is essential that the nation should possess a currency of equal value, credit, and use, wherever it may circulate. The

Constitution has entrusted Congress, exclusively, with the power of creating and regulating a currency of that description; and the measures which were taken during the last session, in execution of the power, give every promise of success. The bank of the United States has been organized under auspices the most favourable, and cannot fail to be an important auxiliary to those measures.

For a more enlarged view of the public finances, with a view of the measures pursued by the Treasury Department, previous to the resignation of the late Secretary, I transmit an extract from the last report of that officer. Congress will perceive in it ample proofs of the the solid foundation on which the financial prosperity of the nation rests; and will do justice to the distinguished ability and successful exertions with which the duties of the department were executed during a period remarkable for its difficulties and its peculiar perplexities.

The period of my retiring from the public service being at little distance, I shall find no occasion more proper than the present for expressing to my fellow-citizens my deep sense of the continued confidence and kind support which I have received from them. My grateful recollection of these distinguished marks of their favourable regard can never cease; and with the consciousness, that if I have not served my country with greater ability, I have served it with a sincere devotion, will accompany me as a source of unfailing gratification.

Happily I shall carry with me from the public theatre other sources, which those who love their country most will best appreciate. I shall behold it blessed with tranquillity and prosperity at home, and with peace and re-

spect abroad. I can indulge the proud reflection, that the American people have reached, in safety and success, their fortieth year as an independent nation ; that, for nearly an entire generation, they have had experience of their present constitution, the offspring of their undisturbed deliberations and of their free choice ; that they have found it to bear the trials of adverse as well as prosperous circumstances ; to contain, in its combination of the federal and elective principles, a reconciliation of public strength with individual liberty, of national power for the defence of national rights, with a security against wars of injustice, of ambition, and of vain glory, in the fundamental provision which subjects all questions of war to the will of the nation itself, which is to pay its costs and feel its calamities. Nor is it less a peculiar felicity of this Constitution, so dear to us all, that it is found to be capable, without losing its vital energies, of expanding itself over a spacious territory, with the increase and expansion of the community for whose benefit it was established.

And may I not be allowed to add to this gratifying spectacle, that I shall read in the character of the American people, in their devotion to true liberty, and to the Constitution which is its palladium, sure presages, that the destined career of my country will exhibit a government pursuing the public good as its sole object, and regulating its means by the great principles consecrated in its charter, and by those moral principles to which they are so well allied : A government which watches over the purity of elections, the freedom of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, and the equal interdict against encroachments and compacts between religion and the state ; which maintains inviolably the maxims of

public faith, the security of persons and property, and encourages in every authorized mode, that general diffusion of knowledge which guarantees to public liberty its permanency, and to those who possess the blessing, the true enjoyment of it: A government which avoids intrusions on the internal repose of other nations, and repels them from its own; which does justice to all nations with a readiness equal to the firmness with which it requires justice from them; and which, whilst it refines its domestic code from every ingredient not congenial with the precepts of an enlightened age, and the sentiments of a virtuous people, seeks, by appeals to reason, and by its liberal examples, to infuse, into the law which governs the civilized world, a spirit which may diminish the frequency, or circumscribe the calamities of war, and meliorate the social and beneficent relations of peace: A government, in a word, whose conduct, within and without, may bespeak the most noble of all ambitions—that of promoting peace on earth, and good will to man.

These contemplations, sweetening the remnant of my days, will animate my prayers for the happiness of my beloved country, and a perpetuity of the institutions under which it is enjoyed.

JAMES MADISON.

PRESIDENT MONROE'S

Inaugural Address,

OF THE FOURTH OF MARCH 1817.

I SHOULD be destitute of feeling, if I was not deeply affected by the strong proof which my fellow citizens have given me of their confidence, in calling me to the high office, whose functions I am about to assume. As the expression of their good opinion of my conduct in the public service, I derive from it a gratification, which those who are conscious of having done all that they could to merit it, can alone feel. My sensibility is increased by a just estimate of the importance of the trust, and of the nature and extent of its duties; with the proper discharge of which, the highest interests of a great and free people are intimately connected. Conscious of my own deficiency, I cannot enter on these duties without great anxiety for the result. From a just responsibility I will never shrink; calculating with confidence, that in my best efforts to promote the public welfare, my motives will always be duly appreciated, and my conduct be viewed with that candor and indulgence which I have experienced in other stations.

In commencing the duties of the chief executive office, it has been the practice of the distinguished men who

have gone before me, to explain the principles which would govern them in their respective administrations. In following their venerated example, my attention is naturally drawn to the great causes which have contributed, in a principal degree, to produce the present happy condition of the United States. They will best explain the nature of our duties, and shed much light on the policy which ought to be pursued in future.

From the commencement of our revolution to the present day, almost forty years have elapsed, and from the establishment of this constitution, twenty eight. Through this whole term the government has been what may emphatically be called, self-government; and what has been the effect? To whatever object we turn our attention, whether it relates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we find abundant causes to felicitate ourselves in the excellence of our institutions. During a period fraught with difficulties, and marked by very extraordinary events, the United States have flourished beyond example. Their citizens individually, have been happy, and the nation prosperous.

Under this constitution, our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states; new states have been admitted into our union; our territory has been enlarged, by fair and honourable treaty, and with great advantage to the original states; the states respectively, protected by the national government, under a mild parental system, against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity, which are the best proofs of wholesome laws, well administered. And if we look

to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our union? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property? Who restrained in offering his vows in the mode in which he prefers, to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent; and I add with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason.

Some who might admit the competency of our government to these beneficent duties, might doubt it in trials which put to the test its strength and efficiency, as a member of the great community of nations. Here, too, experience has afforded us the most satisfactory proof in its favour. Just as this constitution was put into action, several of the principal states of Europe had become much agitated, and some of them seriously convulsed. Destructive wars ensued, which have, of late only, been terminated. In the course of these conflicts, the United States received great injury from several of the parties. It was their interest to stand aloof from the contest; to demand justice from the party committing the injury; and to cultivate by a fair and honourable conduct, the friendship of all. War became, at length, inevitable, and the result has shown, that our government is equal to that, the greatest of trials, under the most unfavourable circumstances. Of the virtue of the people, and of the heroic exploits of the army, the navy, and the militia, I need not speak.

Such then, is the happy government under which we live: a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all

its branches, under which every citizen may, by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognized by the constitution: which contains within it no cause of discord; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which protects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers.

Other considerations of the highest importance admonish us to cherish our union, and cling to the government which supports it. Fortunate as we are, in our political institutions, we have not been less so in other circumstances, on which our prosperity and happiness essentially depend. Situated within the temperate zone, and extending through many degrees of latitude along the Atlantic, the United States enjoy all the varieties of climate, and every production incident to that portion of the globe. Penetrating, internally, to the great lakes, and beyond the source of the great rivers which communicate through our whole interior, no country was ever happier with respect to its domain. Blessed too with a fertile soil, our produce has always been very abundant, leaving, even in years the least favourable, a surplus for the wants of our fellow-men, in other countries. Such is our peculiar felicity, that there is not a part of our union that is not particularly interested in preserving it. The great agricultural interest of the nation prospers under its protection. Local interests are not less fostered by it. Our fellow-citizens of the north, engaged in navigation, find great encouragement in being made the favoured carriers of the vast productions of the other portions of the United States, while the inhabitants of these are amply recompensed, in their turn, by the nursery for seamen and naval force, thus formed and reared up for the support of

our common rights. Our manufactures find a generous encouragement by the policy which patronizes domestic industry; and the surplus of our produce, a steady and profitable market by local wants, in less favoured parts, at home.

Such, then, being the highly favoured condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained and guarded against.

In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked, what raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain, and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositories of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? While then the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state, every thing will be safe. They will choose competent and faithful representatives of every department. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt; when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and an usurper soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin.—

Let us then look to the great cause and endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties.

Dangers from abroad are not less deserving of attention. Experiencing the fortune of other nations, the United States may be again involved in war, and it may, in that event be the object of the adverse party to upset our government, to break our union, and demolish us as a nation. Our distance from Europe, and the just, moderate and pacific policy of our government, may form some security against these dangers, but they ought to be anticipated and guarded against. Many of our citizens are engaged in commerce and navigation, and all of them are in a certain degree dependent on their prosperous state. Many are engaged in the fisheries. These interests are exposed to invasion in the wars between other powers, and we should disregard the faithful admonition of experience if we did not expect it. We must support our rights or lose our character, and with it perhaps our liberties. A people who fail to do it, can scarcely be said to hold a place among independent nations. National honour is national property of the highest value. The sentiment in the mind of every citizen, is national strength. It ought therefore to be cherished.

To secure us against these dangers our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our army and navy regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing. To put our extensive coast in such a state of defence, as to secure our cities and interior from invasion, will be attended with expense, but the work when finished will be permanent, and it is fair to

presume that a single campaign of invasion, by a naval force superior to our own, aided by a few thousand land troops, would expose us to greater expense, without taking into the estimate the loss of property, and distress of our citizens, than would be sufficient for this great work. Our land and naval forces should be moderate but adequate to the necessary purposes. The former to garrison and preserve our fortifications and to meet the first invasions of a foreign foe; and, while constituting the elements of a greater force, to preserve the science, as well as all the necessary implements of war, in a state to be brought into activity in the event of war. The latter, retained within the limits proper in a state of peace, might aid in maintaining the neutrality of the United States with dignity in the wars of other powers, and in saving the property of their citizens from spoliation. In time of war, with the enlargement of which the great naval resources of the country render it susceptible, and which should be duly fostered in time of peace, it would contribute essentially both as an auxiliary of defence, and as a powerful engine of annoyance, to diminish the calamities of war, and to bring the war to a speedy and honourable termination.

But it always ought to be held prominently in view, that the safety of these states, and of every thing dear to a free people must depend in an eminent degree on the militia. Invasions may be made too formidable to be resisted by any land and naval force, which it would comport either with the principles of our government, or the circumstances of the United States to maintain. In such cases, recourse must be had to the great body of the people, and in a manner to produce the best effect, it is of the highest importance, therefore, that they be so

organized and trained, as to be prepared for any emergency. The arrangement should be such, as to put at the command of the government the ardent patriotism and youthful vigor of the country. If formed on equal and just principles, it cannot be oppressive. It is the crisis which makes the pressure, and not the laws which provide a remedy for it. This arrangement should be formed too in time of peace, to be better prepared for war. With such an organization of such a people, the United States have nothing to dread from foreign invasion. At its approach, an overwhelming force of gallant men might always be put in motion.

Other interests of high importance will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place. By thus facilitating the intercourse between the states, we shall add much to the convenience and comfort of our fellow-citizens ; much to the ornament of the country ; and, what is of a greater importance, we shall shorten distances, and by making each part more accessible to, and dependant on the other, we shall bind the union more closely together. Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete the work seems to be peculiarly strong. A more interesting spectacle was perhaps never seen than is exhibited within the United States ; a territory so vast, and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts.

Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil

and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on the supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture, and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition, it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations, and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.

The great amount of our revenue, and the flourishing state of the treasury, are a full proof of the competency of the national resources, for any emergency, as they are, of the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear the burthens which the public necessities require. The vast amount of vacant lands, the value of which daily augments, forms an additional resource of great extent and duration. These resources, besides accomplishing every other necessary purpose, put it completely in the power of the United States, to discharge the national debt at an early period. Peace is the best time for improvement and preparation of every kind; it is in peace that our commerce flourishes most; that taxes are most easily paid, and that the revenue is most productive.

The executive is charged officially, in the departments under it, with the disbursement of the public money, and is responsible for the faithful application of which it is raised. The legislature is the watchful guard over the public purse. It is its duty to see that the disbursement has been honestly made. To meet the requisite responsibility, every facility should be afforded to the executive to enable it to bring the public agents, entrusted with the public money, strictly and promptly to account. Nothing should be presumed against them; but if, with the requisite faculties, the public money is suffered to lie long and uselessly, in their hands, they will not be the defaulters, nor will the demoralizing effect be confined to them. It will evince a relaxation, and want of tone in the administration, which will be felt by the whole community. I shall do all that I can, to secure economy and fidelity in this important branch of the administration, and I doubt not, that the legislature will perform its duty with equal zeal. A thorough examination should be regularly made, and I will promote it.

It is particularly gratifying to me, to enter on the discharge of these duties, at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it, so far as depends on the executive, on just principles, with all nations, claiming nothing unreasonable, of any, and rendering to each what is its due.

Equally gratifying is it, to witness the increased harmony of opinion, which pervades our union. Discord does not belong to our system. Union is recommended, as well by the free and benign principles of our government, extending its blessings to every individual, as by

the other eminent advantages attending it. The American people have encountered together great dangers, and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family with a common interest. Experience has enlightened us on some questions of essential importance to the country. The progress has been slow, dictated by a just reflection, and faithful regard to every interest connected with it. To promote this harmony, in accord with the principles of our republican government, and in a manner to give them the most complete effect, and to advance in all other respects the best interests of our union, will be the object of my constant and zealous exertions.

Never did a government commence under auspices so favourable, nor ever was success so complete. If we look to the history of other nations, antient and modern, we find no example of a growth so rapid, so gigantic; of a people so prosperous and happy. In contemplating what we have still to perform, the heart of every citizen must expand with joy when he reflects how near our government has approached to perfection; that in respect to it, we have no essential improvement to make; that the great object is to preserve it in the essential principles and features which characterize it, and, that is to be done, by preserving the virtue and enlightening the minds of the people; and as a security against foreign dangers, to adopt such arrangements as are indispensable to the support of our independence, our rights, and liberties. If we persevere in the career in which we have advanced so far, and in the path already traced, we cannot fail, by the favour of a gracious Providence, to attain the high destiny which seems to await us.

In the administration of the illustrious men who have preceded me in this high station, with some of whom I have been connected by the closest ties from early life, examples are presented, which will always be found highly instructive, and useful to their successors. From these I shall endeavour to derive all the advantages which they may afford. Of my immediate predecessor, under whom so important a portion of this great and successful experiment has been made. I shall be pardoned for expressing my earnest wishes that he may long enjoy, in his retirement, the affections of a grateful country, the best reward of exalted talents, and the most faithful and meritorious services. Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of the government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens, with my fervent prayers to the Almighty, that He will be graciously pleased to continue to us that protection, which he has already so conspicuously displayed in our favour.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 2, 1817.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

AT no period of our political existence had we so much cause to felicitate ourselves at the prosperous and happy condition of our country. The abundant fruits of the earth have filled it with plenty. An extensive and profitable commerce has greatly augmented our revenue. The public credit has attained an extraordinary elevation. Our preparations for defence, in case of future wars, from which by the experience of all nations, we ought not to expect to be exempted, are advancing, under a well digested system, with all the despatch which so important a work will admit. Our free government, founded on the interest and affections of the people, has gained, and is daily gaining strength. Local jealousies are rapidly yielding to more generous enlarged, and enlightened views of national policy. For advantages so numerous, and highly important, it is our duty to unite in grateful acknowledgments to that Omnipotent Being, from whom they are derived, and in unceasing prayer, that he will endow us with virtue and strength to maintain and hand them down, in their utmost purity, to our latest posterity.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that an arrangement which had been commenced by my predecessor, with the British government for the reduction of the naval force, by Great Britain and the United States, on the lakes, has been concluded; by which it is provided, that

neither party shall keep in service on Lake Champlain more than one vessel; on Lake Ontario, more than one; and on Lake Erie, and the upper lakes, more than two; to be armed, each, with one cannon only; and that all the other armed vessels, of both parties, of which an exact list is interchanged, shall be dismantled. It is also agreed, that the force retained shall be restricted, in its duty, to the internal purposes of each party; and that the arrangement shall remain in force until six months shall have expired, after notice given by one of the parties to the other of its desire that it should terminate. By this arrangement, useless expense, on both sides, and, what is of still greater importance, the danger of collision, between armed vessels, in those inland waters, which was great, is prevented. I have the satisfaction also to state, that the commissioners, under the fourth article of the treaty of Ghent, to whom it was referred to decide, to which party the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy belonged, under the treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, have agreed in a report by which all the islands in the possession of each party before the late war have been decreed to it. The commissioners, acting under the other articles of the treaty of Ghent, for the settlement of boundaries, have also been engaged in the discharge of their respective duties, but have not yet completed them. The difference which arose between the two governments under that treaty, respecting the right of the United States to take and cure fish on the coast of the British provinces, north of our limits, which had been secured by the treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, is still in negotiation. The proposition made by this government, to extend to the colonies of Great Britain the principle of the

convention of London, by which the commerce between the ports of the United States and British ports in Europe, had been placed on a footing of equality, has been declined by the British government. This subject having been thus amicably discussed between the two governments, and it appearing that the British government is unwilling to depart from its present regulations, it remains for Congress to decide, whether they will make any other regulations, in consequence thereof, for the protection and improvement of our navigation.

The negotiation with Spain, for spoiliations on our commerce, and the settlement of boundaries, remains, essentially, in the state it held, by the communications that were made to Congress by my predecessor. It has been evidently the policy of the Spanish government to keep the negotiation suspended, and in this the United States have acquiesced, from an amicable disposition towards Spain, and in the expectation that her government would from a sense of justice, finally accede to such an arrangement as would be equal between the parties. A disposition has been lately shown by the Spanish government to move in the negotiation, which has been met by this government, and, should the conciliatory and friendly policy, which has invariably guided our councils, be reciprocated, a just and satisfactory arrangement may be expected. It is proper, however, to remark that no proposition has yet been made from which such a result can be presumed.

It was anticipated at an early stage, that the contest between Spain and the colonies would become highly interesting to the United States. It was natural that our citizens should sympathise in events which affected their neighbours. It seemed probable, also, that the prosecu-

tion of the conflict along our coast, and in contiguous countries would occasionally interrupt our commerce, and otherwise affect the persons and property of our citizens. These anticipations have been realised. Such injuries have been received from persons acting under the authority of both the parties, and for which redress has, in most instances, been withheld. Through every stage of the conflict the United States have maintained an impartial neutrality, giving aid to neither of the parties in men, money, ships or munitions of war. They have regarded the contest, not in the light of an ordinary insurrection or rebellion, but as a civil war between parties nearly equal, having as to neutral powers equal rights. Our ports have been open to both, and every article, the fruit of our soil, or of the industry of our citizens, which either was permitted to take, has been equally free to the other. Should the colonies establish their independence it is proper now to state, that this government neither seeks nor would accept from them, any advantage in commerce, or otherwise, which will not be equally open to all other nations. The colonies will, in that event, become independent states, free from any obligation, to, or connexion with us, which it may not then be their interest to form on the basis of a fair reciprocity.

In the summer of the present year, an expedition was set on foot against East Florida, by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the colonies, who took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of the St. Mary's river near the boundary of the state of Georgia. As this province lies eastward of the Mississippi, and is bounded by the United States and the ocean on every side, and has been a subject of negotiation with the government of Spain, as an indemnity for losses by spolia-

tion, or in exchange for territory of equal value, westward of the Mississippi, a fact well known to the world, it excited surprise, that any countenance should be given to this measure by any of the colonies. As it would be difficult to reconcile it with the friendly relations existing between the United States and the colonies, a doubt was entertained, whether it had been authorized by them, or any of them. This doubt has gained strength, by the circumstances which have unfolded themselves in the prosecution of the enterprize, which have marked it as a mere private, unauthorized adventure. Projected and commenced with an incompetent force, reliance seems to have been placed on what might be drawn in defiance of our laws, from within our limits; and of late, as their resources have failed, it has assumed a more marked character of unfriendliness to us; the island being made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring states, and a port for smuggling of every kind.

A similar establishment was made, at an earlier period by persons of the same description, in the Gulf of Mexico at a place called Galvezton, within the limits of the United States, as we contend, under the session of Louisiana. This enterprise has been marked, in a more signal manner, by all the objectionable circumstances which characterized the other, and more particularly by the equipment of privateers which have annoyed our commerce, and by smuggling. These establishments, if ever sanctioned by any authority whatever, which is not believed, have abused their trust and forfeited all claim to consideration. A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States required that they should be suppressed,

and orders have been accordingly issued to that effect. The imperious considerations which produced this measure will be explained to the parties whom it may, in any degree, concern.

To obtain correct information on every subject which the United States are interested ; to inspire just sentiments in all persons in authority, on either side, of our friendly disposition, so far as it may comport with an impartial neutrality ; and to secure proper respect to our commerce in every port, and from every flag, it has been thought proper to send a ship of war, with three distinguished citizens, along the southern coast, with instruction to touch at such ports as they may find most expedient for these purposes. With the existing authorities, with those in the possession of, and exercising the sovereignty, must the communication be held ; from them alone can redress for past injuries, committed by persons acting under them, be obtained ; by them alone can the commission of the like, in future, be prevented.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have experienced no essential change since the last session. In our intercourse with each, due attention continues to be paid to the protection of our commerce, and to every other object in which the United States are interested. A strong hope is entertained, that by adhering to the maxims of a just, a candid, and friendly policy, we may long preserve amicable relations with all the powers of Europe, on conditions, advantageous and honourable to our country.

With the Barbary states and the Indian tribes, our pacific relations have been preserved.

In calling your attention to the internal concerns of our country, the view which they exhibit is peculiarly grat-

ifying. The payments which have been made into the treasury, show the very productive state of the public revenue. After satisfying the appropriations made by law for the support of the civil government, and of the military and naval establishments, embracing suitable provision for fortifications and for the gradual increase of the navy, paying the interest of the public debt, and extinguishing more than eighteen millions of the principal within the present year, it is estimated that a balance of more than six millions of dollars will remain in the treasury on the first day of January next, applicable to the current service of the ensuing year. The payments into the treasury during the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, on account of imposts and tonnage, resulting principally from duties which have accrued in the present year, may be fairly estimated at twenty millions; internal revenues, at two millions five hundred thousand; public lands, at one million five hundred thousand; bank dividends and incidental receipts, at five hundred thousand; making in the whole, twenty-four millions five hundred thousand dollars.

The annual permanent expenditure for the support of the civil government, and of the army and navy, as now established by law, amounts to eleven millions eight hundred thousand dollars; and for the sinking fund, to ten millions; making in the whole, twenty-one millions and eight hundred thousand; leaving an annual excess of revenue beyond the expenditure of two millions seven hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the balance estimated to be in the treasury on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

In the present state of the treasury, the whole of the Louisiana debt may be redeemed in the year one thou-

sand eight hundred and nineteen; after which, if the public debt continues as it now is, above par, there will be annually about five millions of the sinking fund unexpended, until the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, when the loan of one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and the stock created by funding treasury notes, will be redeemable.

It is also estimated that the Mississippi stock will be discharged during the year one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, from the proceeds of the public lands assigned to that object, after which the receipts from those lands will annually add to the public revenue the sum of one million five hundred thousand dollars, making the permanent annual revenue amount to twenty-six millions, and leaving an annual excess of revenue, after the year one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, beyond the permanent authorized expenditure, of more than four millions of dollars.

By the late returns of the Department of War, the militia force of the several states may be estimated at eight hundred thousand men, infantry, artillery and cavalry. Great part of this force is armed, and measures are taken to arm the whole. An improvement in the organization and discipline of the militia, is one of the great objects which claims the unremitted attention of Congress.

The regular force amounts nearly to the number required by law, and is stationed along the atlantic and inland frontiers.

Of the naval force it has been necessary to maintain strong squadrons in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf of Mexico.

From several of the Indian tribes, inhabiting the country bordering on Lake Erie, purchases have been made of lands, on conditions very favourable to the United States, and as it is presumed, not less so to the tribes themselves. By these purchases the Indian title, with moderate reservations, has been extinguished, to the whole of the land within the limits of the state of Ohio, and to a part of that in the Michigan territory, and of the state of Indiana. From the Cherokee tribe a tract has been purchased in the state of Georgia, and an arrangement made, by which, in exchange for lands beyond the Mississippi, a great part, if not the whole, of the land belonging to that tribe, eastward of that river, in the states of North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, and in the Alabama territory, will soon be acquired. By these acquisitions, and others that may reasonably be expected soon to follow, we shall be enabled to extend our settlements from the inhabited parts of the state of Ohio, along Lake Erie into the Michigan territory, and to connect our settlements, by degrees, through the state of Indiana and the Illinois territory, to that of Missouri. A similar and equally advantageous effect will soon be produced to the south, through the whole extent of the states and territory which border on the waters emptying into the Mississippi and the Mobile. In this progress, which the rights of nature demand, and nothing can prevent, marking a growth rapid and gigantic, it is our duty to make new efforts for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of the native inhabitants. The hunter state can exist only in the vast uncultivated desert. It yields to the more dense and compact form, and greater force, of civilized population; and of right it ought to yield, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest

number of which it is capable, and no tribe or people have a right to withhold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort. It is gratifying to know that the reservations of land made by the treaties with the tribes on Lake Erie, were made with a view to individual ownership among them, and to the cultivation of the soil by all, and that an annual stipend has been pledged to supply their other wants. It will merit the consideration of Congress, whether other provision, not stipulated by treaty, ought to be made for these tribes, and for the advancement of the liberal and humane policy of the United States towards all the tribes within our limits, and more particularly for their improvement in the arts of civilized life.

Among the advantages incident to these purchases, and to those which have preceded, the security which may thereby be afforded to our inland frontiers is peculiarly important. With a strong barrier, consisting of our own people thus planted on the lakes, the Mississippi, and the Mobile, with the protection to be derived from the regular forces, Indian hostilities, if they do not altogether cease, will henceforth lose their terror. Fortifications in those quarters, to any extent, will not be necessary, and the expense attending them may be saved. A people accustomed to the use of fire arms only, as the Indian tribes are, will shun even moderate works, which are defended by cannon. Great fortifications, will, therefore, be requisite only, in future along the coast, and at some points in the interior, connected with it. On these will the safety of our towns, and the commerce of our great rivers, from the Bay of Fundy to the Mississippi, depend. On these, therefore, should the utmost attention, skill, and labour be bestowed.

A considerable and rapid augmentation in the value of all the public lands, proceeding from these and other obvious causes, may henceforward be expected. The difficulties attending early emigrations, will be dissipated even in the most remote parts. Several new states have been admitted into our Union, to the west and south, and territorial governments, happily organized, established over every other portion, in which there is vacant land for sale. In terminating Indian hostilities, as must soon be done, in a formidable shape at least, the emigration, which has heretofore been great, will probably increase, and the demand for land, and the augmentation in its value, be in like proportion. The great increase of our population throughout the Union will alone produce an important effect, and in no quarter will it be so sensibly felt as in those in contemplation. The public lands are a public stock, which ought to be disposed of to the best advantage for the nation. The nation should, therefore, derive the profit proceeding from the continual rise in their value. Every encouragement should be given to the emigrants, consistent with a fair competition between them, but that competition should operate in the first scale to the advantage of the nation rather than of individuals. Great capitalists will derive all the benefit incident to their superior wealth, under any mode of sale which may be adopted. But if, looking forward to the rise in the value of the public lands, they should have the opportunity of amassing, at a low price, vast bodies in their hands, the profit will accrue to them, and not to the public. They would also have the power in that degree to control the emigration and settlement in such manner as their opinion of their respective interests might dictate. I submit this subject

to the consideration of Congress, that such further provision may be made in the sale of the public lands, with a view to the public interest, should any be deemed expedient, as in their judgment may be best adapted to the object.

When we consider the vast extent of territory within the United States; the great amount and value of its productions; the connexion of its parts, and other circumstances, on which their prosperity and happiness depend, we cannot fail to entertain a high sense of the advantage to be derived from the facility which may be afforded in the intercourse between them, by means of good roads and canals. Never did a country of such vast extent offer equal inducements to improvements of this kind, nor ever were consequences of such magnitude involved in them. As this subject was acted on by Congress at the last session, and there may be a disposition to revive it at the present, I have brought it into view, for the purpose of communicating my sentiments on a very important circumstance connected with it, with that freedom and candor which a regard for the public interest, and a proper respect for Congress, require. A difference of opinion has existed since the first formation of our constitution, to the present time, among our most enlightened and virtuous citizens, respecting the right of Congress to establish such a system of improvement. Taking into view the trust with which I am now honoured, it would be improper, after what has passed, that this discussion should be revived, with an uncertainty of my opinion respecting the right. Disregarding early impressions, I have bestowed on the subject all the deliberation which its great importance, and a just sense of my duty required, and the result is, a settled conviction in my mind, that

Congress does not possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers granted to Congress; nor can I consider it incident to, or a necessary mean, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I cannot resist the obligation which I feel, to suggest to Congress the propriety of recommending to the states the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, which shall give to Congress the right in question. In cases of doubtful construction, especially of such vital interest, it comports with the nature and origin of our institutions, and will contribute much to preserve them, to apply to our constituents for an explicit grant of the power. We may confidently rely, that if it appears to their satisfaction, that the power is necessary, it will always be granted. In this case I am happy to observe, that experience has afforded the most ample proof of its utility, and that the benign spirit of conciliation and harmony, which now manifests itself throughout our Union, promises to such a recommendation the most prompt and favorable result. I think proper to suggest, also, in case this measure is adopted, that it be recommended to the states, to include, in the amendment sought, a right in Congress to institute, likewise, seminaries of learning for the all-important purpose of diffusing knowledge among our fellow-citizens throughout the United States.

Our manufactories will require the continued attention of Congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge acquired in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures, is of great value. Their preservation which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the high interests of the nation.

Although the progress of the public buildings has been as favourable as circumstances have permitted, it is to be regretted that the capitol is not yet in a state to receive you. There is good cause to presume, that the two wings, the only part as yet commenced, will be prepared for that purpose at the next session. The time seems now to have arrived, when this subject may be deemed worthy the attention of Congress, on a scale adequate to national purposes. The completion of the middle building will be necessary to the convenient accommodation of Congress, of the committees, and various offices belonging to it. It is evident that the other public buildings are altogether insufficient for the accommodation of the several executive departments, some of whom are much crowded, and even subjected to the necessity of obtaining it in private buildings, at some distance from the head of the department, and with inconvenience to the management of the public business. Most nations have taken an interest and a pride in the improvement and ornament of their metropolis, and none were more conspicuous in that respect than the ancient republics. The policy which dictated the establishment of a permanent residence for the national government, and the spirit in which it was commenced and has been prosecuted, show that such improvement was thought worthy the attention of this nation. Its central position, between the northern and southern extremes of our Union, and its approach to the west, at the head of a great navigable river, which interlocks with the western waters, prove the wisdom of the councils which established it. Nothing appears to be more reasonable and proper, than that convenient accommodations should be provided on a well digested plan, for the heads of the several departments, and of the attorney general; and it

is believed that the public ground in the city, applied to those objects will be found amply sufficient. I submit this subject to the consideration of Congress, that such further provision may be made in it, as to them may seem proper.

In contemplating the happy situation of the United States, our attention is drawn, with peculiar interest, to the surviving officers and soldiers of our revolutionary army, who so eminently contributed, by their services, to lay its foundation. Most of those very meretorious citizens have paid the debt of nature and gone to repose. It is believed, that among the survivors, there are some not provided for by existing laws, who are reduced to indigence, and even to real distress. These men have a claim on the gratitude of their country, and it will do honour to their country to provide for them. The lapse of a few years more, and the opportunity will be forever lost: indeed, so long already has been the interval, that the number to be benefited by any provision which may be made, will not be great.

It appearing in a satisfactory manner that the revenue arising from imposts and tonnage, and from the sale of the public lands, will be fully adequate to the support of the civil government, of the present military and naval establishments, including the annual augmentation of the latter to the extent provided for, to the payment of the interest on the public debt, and to the extinguishment of it at the times authorized, without the aid of the internal taxes, I consider it my duty to recommend to Congress their repeal. To impose taxes, when the public exigencies require them, is an obligation of the most sacred character, especially with a free people. The faithful fulfillment of it is among the highest proofs of their

virtue, and capacity for self government. To dispense with taxes, when it may be done with perfect safety, is equally the duty of their representatives. In this instance we have the satisfaction to know that they were imposed when the demand was imperious, and have been sustained with exemplary fidelity. I have to add, that however gratifying it may be to me, regarding the prosperous and happy condition of our country, to recommend the repeal of these taxes at this time, I shall nevertheless be attentive to events, and, should any future emergency occur, be not less prompt to suggest such measures and burdens, as may then be requisite and proper.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 17, 1818.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

THE auspicious circumstances under which you will commence the duties of the present session, will lighten the burden inseparable from the high trust committed to you. The fruits of the earth have been unusually abundant: commerce has flourished; the revenue has exceeded the most favourable anticipation, and peace and amity are preserved with foreign nations, on conditions just and honourable to our country. For these inestimable blessings, we cannot but be grateful to that Providence which watches over the destinies of nations.

As the term limited for the operation of the commercial convention with Great Britain will expire early in the month of July next, and it was deemed important that there should be no interval, during which that portion of our commerce, which was provided for by that convention should not be regulated, either by arrangement between the two governments, or by the authority of Congress, the minister of the United States at London was instructed, early in the last summer, to invite the attention of the British government to the subject, with a view to that object. He was instructed to propose, also, that the negotiation which it was wished to open, might extend to the general commerce of the two countries, and to every other interest and unsettled difference between them; particularly those relating to impressment, the fisheries, and boundaries, in the hope that an arrangement might be

made, on principles of reciprocal advantage, which might comprehend, and provide, in a satisfactory manner, for all these high concerns. I have the satisfaction to state that the proposal was received by the British government in the spirit which prompted it, and that a negotiation has been opened at London, embracing all these objects. On full consideration of the great extent and magnitude of the trust, it was thought proper to commit it to not less than two of our distinguished citizens, and, in consequence, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has been associated with our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at London; to both of whom corresponding instructions have been given; and they are now engaged in the discharge of its duties. It is proper to add, that, to prevent any inconvenience resulting from the delay incident to a negotiation on so many important subjects, it was agreed, before entering on it, that the existing convention should be continued for a term not less than eight years.

Our relations with Spain remain nearly in the state in which they were at the close of the last session. The convention of 1802, providing for the adjustment of a certain portion of the claims of our citizens for injuries sustained by spoliation, and so long suspended by the Spanish government, has at length been ratified by it; but no arrangement has yet been made for the payment of another portion of like claims, not less extensive or well founded, or for other classes of claims, or for the settlement of boundaries. These subjects have again been brought under consideration in both countries, but no agreement has been entered into respecting them. In the mean time, events have occurred, which clearly prove the ill effect of the policy which that government

has so long pursued, on the friendly relations of the two countries, which, it is presumed, it is at least of as much importance to Spain, as to the United States, to maintain. A state of things has existed in the Floridas, the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those provinces to which the Spanish title extends, the government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined almost exclusively to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those provinces. These different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding, on the one side, the authority of Spain, and protected, on the other, by an imaginary line which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practised various frauds on our revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens, which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island, last year, by a small band of adventurers, not exceeding one hundred and fifty in number, who wrested it from the inconsiderable Spanish force stationed there, and held it several months, during which, a single feeble effort only was made to recover it, which failed, clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become; as the conduct of those adventurers, while in possession of the island, as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed.

This country had, in fact, become the theatre of every species of lawless adventure. With little population of its own, the Spanish authority almost extinct, and the colonial governments in a state of revolution, having no pretention to it, and sufficiently employed in their own concerns, it was in a great measure derelict, and the object of cupidity, to every adventurer. A system of buccaneering was rapidly organizing over it, which menaced, in its consequences, the lawful commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States ; while it presented a temptation to every people, on whose seduction its success principally depended. In regard to the United States, the pernicious effect of this unlawful combination, was not confined to the ocean. The Indian tribes have constituted the effective force in Florida. With these tribes, these adventurers had formed, at an early period, a connection, with a view to avail themselves of that force, to promote their own projects of accumulation and aggradizement. It is to the interference of some of these adventurers, in misrepresenting the claims and titles of the Indians to land, and in practicing on their savage propensities, that the Seminole war is principally to be traced. Men who thus connect themselves with savage communities, and stimulate them to war, which is always attended, on their part, with acts of barbarity, the most shocking, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the savages. They would certainly have no claim to an immunity from the punishment, which, according to the rules of warfare practised by the savages, might justly be inflicted on the savages, themselves.

If the embarrassments of Spain prevented her from making an indemnity to our citizens, for so long a time,

from her treasury, for their losses by spoliation, and otherwise, it was always in her power to have provided it, by the cession of this territory. Of this, her government has been repeatedly apprised, and the cession was the more to have been anticipated, as Spain must have known that, in ceding it, she would, in effect, cede what had become of little value to her, and would likewise relieve herself from the important obligation secured by the treaty of 1795, and all other commitments respecting it. If the United States, from consideration of these embarrassments, declined pressing their claims in a spirit of hostility, the motive ought, at least to have been duly appreciated by the government of Spain. It is well known to her government that other powers have made to the United States an indemnity for like losses, sustained by their citizens at the same epoch.

There is, nevertheless, a limit, beyond which this spirit of amity and forbearance can, in no instance be justified. If it was proper to rely on amicable negotiation for an indemnity for losses, it would not have been so to have permitted the inability of Spain to fulfil her engagements, and to sustain her authority in the Floridas, to be perverted, by foreign adventurers and savages, to purposes so destructive to the lives of our fellow-citizens, and the highest interests of the United States. The right of self defence never ceases. It is among the most sacred and alike necessary to nations and to individuals. And, whether the attack be made by Spain herself, or by those who abuse her power, its obligation is not the less strong. The invaders of Amelia Island had assumed a popular and respected title, under which they might approach and wound us. As their object was distinctly seen, and the duty imposed on the executive, by an existing law,

was profoundly felt, that mask was not permitted to protect them. It was thought incumbent on the United States to suppress the establishment, and it was accordingly done. The combination in Florida, for the unlawful purposes stated, the acts perpetrated by that combination, and, above all, the incitement of the Indians, to massacre our fellow-citizens, of every age, and of both sexes, merited a like treatment, and received it. In pursuing these savages to an imaginary line, in the woods, it would have been the height of folly to have suffered that line to protect them. Had that been done, the war could never cease. Even if the territory had been, exclusively, that of Spain, and her power complete over it, we had a right, by the law of nations, to follow the enemy on it, and to subdue him there. But, the territory belonged, in a certain sense, at least, to the savage enemy who inhabited it; the power of Spain had ceased to exist over it, and protection was sought, under her title, by those who had committed on our citizens, hostilities which she was bound by treaty to have prevented, but had not the power to prevent. To have stopped at that line, would have given new encouragement to these savages, and new vigour to the whole combination existing there, in the prosecution of all its pernicious purposes.

In suppressing the establishment at Amelia Island, no unfriendliness was manifested towards Spain, because the post was taken from a force which had wrested it from her. The measure, it is true, was not adopted in concert with the Spanish government, or those in authority under it; because, in transactions connected with the war in which Spain and the colonies are engaged, it was thought proper, in doing justice to the United States, to

maintain a strict impartiality towards both the belligerent parties, without consulting or acting in concert with either. It gives me pleasure to state, that the governments of Buenos Ayres and Venezuela, whose names were assumed, have explicitly disclaimed all participation in those measures, and even the knowledge of them, until communicated by this government, and have also expressed their satisfaction that a course of proceedings had been suppressed, which, if justly imputable to them, would dishonour their cause.

In authorizing major general Jackson to enter Florida in pursuit of the Seminoles, care was taken, not to encroach on the rights of Spain. I regret to have to add, that, in executing this order, facts were disclosed, respecting the conduct of the officers of Spain, in authority there, in encouraging the war, furnishing munitions of war, and other supplies, to carry it on, and in other acts not less marked, which evinced their participation in the hostile purposes of that combination, and justified the confidence, with which it inspired the savages, that, by those officers they would be protected. A conduct so incompatible with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, particularly with the positive obligation of the fifth article of the treaty of 1795, by which Spain, was bound to restrain, even by force, those savages, from acts of hostility against the United States, could not fail to excite surprise. The commanding general was convinced that he should fail in his object, that he should in effect accomplish nothing, if he did not deprive those savages of the resource on which they had calculated, and of the protection on which they had relied in making the war. As all the documents relating

to this occurrence will be laid before Congress, it is not necessary to enter into further detail respecting it.

Although the reasons which induced major general Jackson to take these posts were duly appreciated, there was, nevertheless no hesitation in deciding on the course which it became the government to pursue. As there was reason to believe that the commanders of these posts had violated their instructions, there was no disposition to impute to their government a conduct so unprovoked and hostile. An order was in consequence issued to the general in command there, to deliver the posts; Pensacola, unconditional, to any person duly authorized to receive it: and St. Marks, which is in the heart of the Indian country, on the arrival of a competent force, to defend it against those savages and their associates.

In entering Florida to suppress this combination no idea was entertained of hostility to Spain, and, however justifiable the commanding general was, in consequence of the misconduct of the Spanish officers, in entering St. Marks and Pensacola, to terminate it, by proving to the savages and their associates, that they should not be protected, even there; yet the amicable relations, existing between the United States and Spain, could not be altered by that act alone. By ordering the restitution of the posts, those relations were preserved. To a change of them, the power of the executive is deemed incompetent. It is vested in Congress only.

By this measure, so promptly taken, due respect was shown to the government of Spain. The misconduct of her officers has not been imputed to her. She was enabled to review with candor, her relations with the United States, and her own situation, particularly in respect to

the territory in question, with the dangers inseparable from it; and regarding the losses we have sustained, for which indemnity has been so long withheld, and the injuries we have suffered through that territory, and her means of redress, she was likewise enabled to take, with honour, the course best calculated to do justice to the United States, and to promote her own welfare.

Copies of the instructions to the commanding general; of his correspondence with the Secretary of War, explaining his motives, and justifying his conduct, with a copy of the proceedings of the courts martial, in the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambristie; and of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the minister plenipotentiary of Spain, near this government: and of the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, at Madrid, with the government of Spain will be laid before Congress.

The civil war, which has so long prevailed between Spain, and the provinces in South America, still continues without any prospect of its speedy termination. The information respecting the condition of those countries, which has been collected by the commissioners, recently returned from thence, will be laid before Congress, in copies of their reports, with such other information as has been received from other agents of the United States.

It appears, from these communications, that the government of Buenos Ayres declared itself independent in July 1816, having previously exercised the power of an independent government, though in the name of the king of Spain, from the year 1810: that, the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, and Paraguay, with the city of Santa Fee, all of which are also independent, are unconnected with

the present government of Buenos Ayres: that Chili has declared itself independent, and is closely connected with Buenos Ayres: that Venezuela has also declared itself independent, and now maintains the conflict with various success; and that the remaining parts of South America, except Monte Video, and such other portions of the Eastern bank of the La Plata as are held by Portugal, are still in the possession of Spain, or, in a certain degree, under her influence.

By a circular note addressed by the ministers of Spain to the allied powers with whom they are respectively accredited, it appears that the allies have undertaken to mediate between Spain and the South American provinces, and that the manner and extent of their interposition would be settled by a Congress, which was to have met at Aix-la-Chapelle in September last. From the general policy and course of proceeding observed by the allied powers in regard to this contest, it is inferred that they will confine their interposition to the expression of their sentiments abstaining from the application of force. I state this impression, that force will not be applied, with the greater satisfaction, because it is a course more consistent with justice, and likewise authorizes a hope that the calamities of the war will be confined to the parties only, and will be of shorter duration.

From the view taken of this subject, founded on all the information that we have been able to obtain, there is good cause to be satisfied with the course heretofore pursued by the United States, in regard to this contest, and to conclude, that is proper to adhere to it, especially in the present state of affairs.

I have great satisfaction in stating, that our relations

with France, Russia, and other powers, continue on the most friendly basis.

In our domestic concerns we have ample cause of satisfaction. The receipts into the treasury, during the three first quarters of the year, have exceeded seventeen millions of dollars.

After satisfying all the demands which have been made under existing appropriations, including the final extinction of the old six per cent. stock, and the redemption of a moiety of the Louisiana debt, it is estimated that there will remain in the treasury, on the first day of January next, more than two millions of dollars.

It is ascertained that the gross revenue which has accrued from the customs during the same period amounts to twenty-one millions of dollars, and that the revenue of the whole year may be estimated at not less than twenty-six millions. The sale of the public lands during the year has also greatly exceeded, both in quantity and price, that of any former year ; and there is just reason to expect a progressive improvement in that source of revenue.

It is gratifying to know, that, although the annual expenditure has been increased, by the act of the last session of Congress, providing for revolutionary pensions, to an amount about equal to the proceeds of the internal duties, which were then repealed, the revenue for the ensuing year will be proportionably augmented, and that, whilst the public expenditure will probably remain stationary, each successive year will add to the national resources, by the ordinary increase of our population, and by the gradual development of our latent sources of national prosperity.

The strict execution of the revenue laws, resulting principally from the salutary provisions of the act of the 20th of April last, amending the several collection laws, has, it is presumed, secured to domestic manufactures all the relief that can be derived from the duties, which have been imposed upon foreign merchandise, for their protection. Under the influence of this relief, several branches of this important national interest have assumed greater activity, and, although it is hoped that others will gradually revive, and ultimately triumph over every obstacle, yet the expediency of granting further protection is submitted to your consideration.

The measures of defence, authorized by existing laws have been pursued with the zeal and activity due to so important an object, and with all the despatch practicable in so extensive and great an undertaking. The survey of our maritime and inland frontiers has been continued; and, at the points where it was decided to erect fortifications, the work has been commenced, and, in some instances, considerable progress has been made. In compliance with resolutions of the last session, the board of commissioners were directed to examine in a particular manner the parts of the coast therein designated, and to report their opinion of the most suitable sites for two naval depots. This work is in a train of execution. The opinion of the board on this subject, with a plan of all the works necessary to a general system of defence, so far as it has been formed, will be laid before Congress, in a report from the proper department, as soon as it can be prepared.

In conformity with the appropriations of the last session, treaties have been formed with the Quapaw tribe of Indians, inhabiting the country on the Arkansaw, and

with the Great and Little Osages north of the White river; with the tribes in the state of Indiana; with the several tribes within the state of Ohio, and the Michigan territory; and with the Chickasaws; by which very extensive cessions of territory have been made to the United States. Negotiations are now depending with the tribes in the Illinois territory, with the Choctaws, by which it is expected that other extensive cessions will be made. I take great interest in stating that the cessions already made, which are considered so important to the United States, have been obtained on conditions very satisfactory to the Indians.

With a view to the security of our inland frontiers, it has been thought expedient to establish strong posts at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, and at the Mandan village, on the Missouri: and at the mouth of St. Peters, on the Mississippi, at no great distance from our northern boundaries. It can hardly be presumed, while such posts are maintained in the rear of the Indian tribes, that they will venture to attack our peaceable inhabitants. A strong hope is entertained that this measure will likewise be productive of much good to the tribes themselves; especially in promoting the great object of their civilization. Experience has clearly demonstrated, that independent savage communities cannot long exist within the limits of a civilized population. The progress of the latter, has, almost invariably, terminated in the extinction of the former, especially of the tribes belonging to our portion of this hemisphere, among whom, loftiness of sentiment, and gallantry in action, have been conspicuous. To civilize them, and even prevent their extinction, it seems to be indispensable that their independence, as communities should cease, and that the control

of the United States over them should be complete and undisputed. The hunter state will then be more easily abandoned, and recourse will be had to the acquisition and culture of land and to other pursuits tending to dissolve the ties which connect them together as a savage community, and to give a new character to every individual. I present this subject to the consideration of Congress, on the presumption that it may be found expedient and practicable to adopt some benevolent provisions, having these objects in view, relative to the tribes within our settlements.

It has been necessary, during the present year, to maintain a strong naval force in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf of Mexico, and to send some public ships along the Southern coast, and to the Pacific ocean. By these means, amicable relations with the Barbary powers have been preserved, our commerce has been protected, and our rights respected. The augmentation of our navy is advancing, with a steady progress, towards the limit contemplated by law.

I communicate, with great satisfaction, the accession of another state, Illinois, to our Union; because I perceive, from the proof afforded by the additions already made, the regular progress and sure consummation of a policy, of which history affords no example, and of which the good effect cannot be too highly estimated. By extending our government, on the principles of our constitution over the vast territory within our limits the Lakes, and the Mississippi, and its numerous streams, new life and vigor are infused into every part of our system. By increasing the number of the states the confidence of the state governments in their own security is increased, and their jealousy of the national govern-

ment proportionally diminished. The impracticability of one consolidated government for this great and growing nation will be more apparent, and will be universally admitted. Incapable of exercising local authority, except for general purposes, the general government will no longer be dreaded. In those cases of a local nature, and for all the great purposes for which it was instituted, its authority will be cherished. Each government will require new force and a greater freedom of action, within its proper sphere. Other inestimable advantages will follow: our produce will be augmented to an incalculable amount, in articles of the greatest value for domestic use and foreign commerce. Our navigation will, in like degree be increased; and, as the shipping of the Atlantic states will be employed in the transportation of the vast produce of the western country, even those parts of the United States, which are most remote from each other, will be further bound together by the strongest ties which mutual interest can create.

The situation of this District, it is thought, requires the attention of Congress. By the constitution the power of legislation is exclusively vested in the Congress of the United States. In the exercise of this power, in which the people have no participation, Congress legislate in all cases, directly, on the local concerns of the District. As this is a departure for a special purpose, from the general principles of our system, it may merit consideration, whether an arrangement better adapted to the principles of our government, and to the particular interests of the people, may not be devised, which will neither infringe the constitution, nor affect the object which the provision in question was intended to secure. The growing population, already considerable, and the

increasing business of the District, which it is believed already interferes with the deliberations of Congress on great national concerns, furnish additional motives for recommending this subject to your consideration.

When we view the great blessings with which our country has been favoured, those which we now enjoy and the means which we possess of handing them down, unimpaired, to our latest posterity, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the source from whence they flow. Let us then unite in offering our most grateful acknowledgments for these blessings to the Divine Author of all good.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 7, 1819.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

THE public buildings being advanced to a stage to afford accommodation for Congress, I offer you my sincere congratulations on the recommencement of your duties in the capitol.

In bringing to view the incidents most deserving attention, which have occurred since your last session, I regret to have to state, that several of our principal cities have suffered by sickness; that an unusual drought has prevailed in the middle of the western states; and that a derangement has been felt in some of our moneyed institutions, which has proportionably affected their credit. I am happy, however, to have it in my power to assure you that the health of our cities is now completely restored; that the produce of the year, though less abundant than usual, will not only be amply sufficient for home consumption, but afford a large surplus, for the supply of the wants of other nations; and that the derangement in the circulating paper medium, by being left to those remedies which its obvious causes suggested, and the good sense and virtue of our fellow-citizens supplied, has diminished.

Having informed Congress, on the 27th of February last, that a treaty of amity, settlement, and limits, had been concluded in this city, between the United States and Spain, and ratified by the competent authorities of the former, full confidence was entertained that it would

have been ratified by his Catholic Majesty, with equal promptitude, and a like earnest desire to terminate, on the conditions of that treaty, the differences which had so long existed between the two countries. Every view, which the subject admitted of, was thought to have justified this conclusion. Great losses had been sustained by citizens of the United States, from Spanish cruisers, more than twenty years before, which had not been redressed. These losses had been acknowledged and provided for by a treaty, as far back as the year 1802, which, although concluded at Madrid, was not then ratified by the government of Spain, nor since, until the last year, when it was suspended by the late treaty, a more satisfactory provision to both parties, as was presumed, having been made for them. Other differences had arisen, in this long interval, affecting their highest interests, which were likewise provided for, by this last treaty. The treaty itself was formed on great consideration, and a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, the subject matter of every article having been for years under discussion, and repeated references having been made, by the minister of Spain, to his government, on the points respecting which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed. It was formed by a minister duly authorized for the purpose, who had represented his government in the United States, and been employed, in this long protracted negotiation, several years; and who, it is not denied, kept strictly within the letter of his instructions. The faith of Spain was therefore pledged, under circumstances of peculiar force and solemnity, for its ratification.

On the part of the United States, this treaty was evidently acceded to in a spirit of conciliation and conces-

sion. The indemnity for injuries and losses, so long before sustained, and now again acknowledged and provided for, was to be paid by them, without becoming a charge on the treasury of Spain. For territory ceded by Spain, other territory of great value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her. This cession was, nevertheless, received as the means of indemnifying our citizens, in a considerable sum, the presumed amount of their losses. Other considerations, of great weight, urged the cession of this territory by Spain. It was surrounded by the territories of the United States, on every side, except on that of the ocean. Spain had lost her authority over it, and, falling into the hands of adventurers connected with the savages, it was made the means of unceasing annoyance and injury to our Union, in many of its most essential interests. By this cession, then, Spain ceded a territory, in reality of no value to her, and obtained concessions of the highest importance, by the settlement of long standing differences with the United States, affecting their respective claims and limits, and likewise relieved herself from the obligation of a treaty, relating to it, which she had failed to fulfil, and also from the responsibility incident to the most flagrant and pernicious abuses of her rights, where she could not support her authority.

It being known that the treaty was formed under these circumstances, not a doubt was entertained that his Catholic Majesty would have ratified it without delay. I regret to have to state, that this reasonable expectation has been disappointed; that the treaty was not ratified within the time stipulated, and has not since been ratified. As it is important that the nature and character of this

unexpected occurrence should be distinctly understood. I think it my duty to communicate to you all the facts and circumstances, in my possession, relating to it.

Anxious to prevent all future disagreement with Spain by giving the most prompt effect to the treaty, which had been thus concluded, and, particularly, by the establishment of a government in Florida, which should preserve order there, the minister of the United States, who had been recently appointed to his Catholic Majesty, and to whom the ratification, by his government, had been committed, to be exchanged for that of Spain, was instructed to transmit the latter to the Department of State, as soon as obtained, by a public ship, subjected to his order for the purpose. Unexpected delay occurring in the ratification, by Spain, he requested to be informed of the cause: It was stated, in reply, that the great importance of the subject, and a desire to obtain explanations on certain points, which were not specified, had produced the delay, and that an Envoy would be despatched to the United States to obtain such explanations of this government. The minister of the United States offered to give full explanation on any point on which it might be desired; which proposal was declined. Having communicated this result to the Department of State, in August last, he was instructed, notwithstanding the disappointment and surprise which it produced, to inform the government of Spain, that, if the treaty should be ratified, and transmitted here, at any time before the meeting of Congress it would be received, and have the same effect as if it had been ratified in due time. This order was executed; the authorized communication was made to the government of Spain, and by its answer, which has

just been received, we are officially made acquainted, for the first time, with the causes which have prevented the ratification of the treaty by his Catholic Majesty. It is alleged by the Minister of Spain, that this government had attempted to alter one of the principle articles of the treaty, by a declaration, which the Minister of the United States had been ordered to present, when he should deliver the ratification by his government in exchange for that of Spain, and of which he gave notice, explanatory of the sense in which that article was understood. It is further alleged that this government had recently tolerated, or protected, an expedition from the United States, against the province of Texas. These two imputed acts are stated as the reasons which have induced his Catholic Majesty to withhold his ratification from the treaty, to obtain explanations, respecting which, it is repeated, that an envoy would be forthwith despatched to the United States. How far these allegations will justify the conduct of the government of Spain, will appear, on a view of the following facts, and the evidence which supports them.

It will be seen by the documents transmitted herewith, that the declaration mentioned relates to a clause in the 8th article, concerning certain grants of land, recently made by his Catholic Majesty in Florida, which it was understood, had conveyed all the lands, which, till then, had been ungranted. It was the intention of the parties to annul these latter grants, and that clause was drawn for that express purpose and for none other. The date of these grants was unknown, but it was understood to be posterior to that inserted in the article: Indeed, it must be obvious to all, that, if that provision in the treaty had not the effect of annulling these grants, it would be alto-

gether nugatory. Immediately after the treaty was concluded, and ratified by this government, an intimation was received that these grants were of anterior date to that fixed on by the treaty, and that they would not, of course, be affected by it. The mere possibility of such a case, so inconsistent with the intention of the parties, and the meaning of the article, induced this government to demand an explanation on the subject, which was immediately granted and which corresponds with this statement. With respect to the other act alledged, that this government had tolerated, or protected, an expedition against Texas, it is utterly without foundation. Every discountenance has invariably been given to any such attempt from within the limits of the United States, as is fully evinced by the acts of the government, and the proceedings of the courts. There being cause, however, to apprehend, in the course of the last summer, that some adventurers entertained views of the kind suggested, the attention of the constituted authorities in that quarter was immediately drawn to them, and it is known that the project, whatever it might be, has utterly failed.

These facts will, it is presumed, satisfy every impartial mind, that the government of Spain had no justifiable cause for declining to ratify the treaty. A treaty concluded in conformity with instructions, is obligatory, in good faith, in all its stipulations, according to the true intent and meaning of the parties. Each party is bound to ratify it. If either could set it aside, without the consent of the other, there would be no longer any rules applicable to such transactions between nations. By this proceeding the government of Spain has rendered to the United States a new and very serious injury. It has been stated, that a Minister would be sent, to ask

certain explanations of this government. But, if such were desired, why were they not asked, within the time limited for the ratification? Is it contemplated to open a new negotiation respecting any of the articles or conditions of the treaty? If that were done, to what consequences might it not lead? At what time, and in what manner, would a negotiation terminate? By this proceeding, Spain has formed a relation between the two countries which will justify any measures on the part of the United States, which a strong sense of injury, and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation may dictate. In the course to be pursued, these objects should be constantly held in view, and have their due weight. Our national honour must be maintained, and a new and a distinguished proof be afforded of that regard for justice and moderation, which has invariably governed the councils of this free people. It must be obvious to all, that, if the United States has been desirous of making conquests, or had been even willing to aggrandize themselves in that way, they could have had no inducement to form this treaty. They would have much cause for gratulation, at the course which has been pursued by Spain. An ample field for ambition is opened before them. But such a career is not consistent with the principles of their government, nor the interests of the nation.

From a full view of all circumstances, it is submitted to the consideration of Congress, whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the treaty into effect, in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain; claiming, on their part, all its advantages, and yielding to Spain those secured to her. By pursuing this course, we shall rest on the sacred ground of right, sanctioned, in the most solemn manner,

by Spain herself, by a treaty which she was bound to ratify, for refusing to do which she must incur the censure of other nations, even those most friendly to her; while, by confining ourselves within that limit, we cannot fail to obtain their well merited approbation. We must have peace on a frontier where we have been so long disturbed, our citizens must be indemnified for losses so long since sustained, and for which indemnity has been so unjustly withheld from them. Accomplishing these great objects we obtain all that is desirable.

But his Catholic Majesty has twice declared his determination to send a minister to the United States, to ask explanations on certain points, and to give them respecting his delay to satisfy the treaty. Shall we act, by taking the ceded territory, and proceeding to execute the other conditions of the treaty, before this minister arrives and is heard? This is a case which forms a strong appeal to the candor, the magnanimity, and the honour of this people. Much is due to courtesy between nations. By a short delay we shall lose nothing; for, resting on the ground of immutable truth and justice, we cannot be diverted from our purpose. It ought to be presumed that the explanations which may be given to the minister of Spain, will be satisfactory, and produce the desired result. In any event, the delay, for the purpose mentioned, being a further manifestation of the sincere desire to terminate in the most friendly manner all differences with Spain, cannot fail to be duly appreciated by his Catholic Majesty, as well as by other powers. It is submitted, therefore, whether it will not be proper to make the law proposed for carrying the conditions of the treaty into effect, should it be adopted, contingent; to suspend its operation upon the responsibility of the exe-

cutive, in such a manner, as to afford an opportunity for such friendly explanations, as may be desired during the present session of Congress.

I communicate to Congress a copy of the treaty, and of the instructions to the minister of the United States at Madrid respecting it; of his correspondence with the minister of Spain, and of such other documents as may be necessary to give a full view of the subject.

In the course which the Spanish government have, on this occasion, thought proper to pursue, it is satisfactory to know that they have not been countenanced by any other European power. On the contrary, the opinion and wishes, both of France and Great Britain, have not been withheld, either from the United States or from Spain; and have been unequivocally in favour of the ratification. There is also reason to believe, that the sentiments of the imperial government of Russia have been the same, and that they have also been made known to the cabinet at Madrid.

In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish provinces in this hemisphere, the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality. Our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties, and on the same conditions; and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering in favour of either, to the prejudice of the other. The progress of the war, however, has operated manifestly in favour of the colonies. Buenos Ayres still maintains unshaken the independence which it declared in 1816, and has enjoyed since 1810. Like success has also lately attended Chili, and the provinces north of the La Plata bordering on it, and likewise Venezuela.

This contest, has from its commencement, been very interesting to other powers, and to none more so than to the United States. A virtuous people may, and will, confine themselves within the limit of a strict neutrality; but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbours, without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case. It has been the steady purpose of this government to prevent that feeling leading to excess, and it is very gratifying to have it in my power to state that, so strong has been the sense throughout the whole community, of what was due to the character and obligations of the nation, that very few examples of a contrary kind have occurred.

The distance of the colonies from the parent country, and the great extent of their population and resources, gave them advantages which it was anticipated at a very early period it would be difficult for Spain to surmount. The steadiness, consistency, and success, with which they have pursued their object, as evinced more particularly by the undisturbed sovereignty which Buenos Ayres has so long enjoyed, evidently give them a strong claim to the consideration of other nations. These sentiments, on the part of the United States, have not been withheld from other powers, with whom it is desirable to act in concert. Should it become manifest to the world that the efforts of Spain to subdue these provinces will be fruitless, it may be presumed that the Spanish government itself will give up the contest. In producing such a determination, it cannot be doubted that the opinion of friendly powers, who have taken no part in the controversy, will have their merited influence.

It is of the highest importance to our national character, and indispensable to the morality of our citizens,

that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented. No door should be left open for the evasion of our laws; no opportunity afforded to any who may be disposed to take advantage of it, to compromit the interest or the honour of the nation. It is submitted, therefore, to the consideration of Congress, whether it may not be advisable to revise the laws, with a view to this desirable result.

It is submitted, also, whether it may not be proper to designate, by law, the several ports or places along the coast, at which, only, foreign ships of war and privateers may be admitted. The difficulty of sustaining the regulations of our commerce, and of other important interests from abuse, without such designation, furnishes a strong motive for this measure.

At the time of the negotiation for the renewal of the commercial convention, between the United States and Great Britain, a hope had been entertained that an article might have been agreed upon, mutually satisfactory to both countries, regulating, upon principles of justice and reciprocity, the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British possessions, as well in the West Indies, as upon the continent of North America. The plenipotentiaries of the two governments not having been able to come to an agreement on this important interest, those of the United States reserved for the consideration of this government, the proposals which had been presented to them, as the ultimate offer on the part of the British government, and which they were not authorised to accept. On their transmission here, they were examined with due deliberation, the result of which was a new effort to meet the views of the British government. The minister of the United States was instructed to make a further proposal, which has not been accepted. It was,

however, declined in an amicable manner. I recommend to the consideration of Congress, whether further prohibitory provisions in the laws relating to this intercourse may not be expedient. It is seen, with interest, that, although it has not been practicable, as yet, to agree in any arrangement of this important branch of their commerce, such is the disposition of the parties, that each will view any regulations which the other may make respecting it, in the most friendly light.

By the fifth article of the convention, concluded on the 20th of October, 1818, it was stipulated that the differences which has arisen between the two governments, with regard to the true intent and meaning of the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, in relation to the carrying away, by British officers, of slaves from the United States, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace, should be referred to the decision of some friendly sovereign or state, to be named for that purpose. The minister of the United States has been instructed to name to the British government a foreign sovereign, the common friend of both parties, for the decision of this question. The answer of that government to the proposal, when received, will indicate the further measures to be pursued on the part of the United States.

Although the pecuniary embarrassments which affected various parts of the Union, during the latter part of the preceding year, have, during the present, been considerably augmented, and still continue to exist, the receipts into the Treasury, to the 30th of September last, have amounted to nineteen millions of dollars. After defraying the current expenses of the government, including the interest and reimbursement of the public debt, payable to that period, amounting to eighteen

millions two hundred thousand dollars, there remained in the Treasury, on that day, more than two millions five hundred thousand dollars, which, with the sums receivable during the remainder of the year, will exceed the current demands upon the Treasury for the same period.

The causes which have tended to diminish the public receipts, could not fail to have a corresponding effect upon the revenue which has accrued upon imposts and tonnage, during the three first quarters of the present year; it is, however, ascertained that the duties which have been secured during that period, exceed eighteen millions of dollars, and those of the whole year will probably amount to twenty-three millions of dollars.

For the probable receipts of the next year, I refer you to the statements which will be transmitted from the Treasury, which will enable you to judge whether further provision be necessary.

The great réduction in the price of the principal articles of domestic growth, which has occurred during the present year, and the consequent fall in the price of labour, apparently so favourable to the success of domestic manufactures, have not shielded them against other causes adverse to their prosperity. The pecuniary embarrassments which have so deeply affected the commercial interest of the nation, have been no less adverse to our manufacturing establishments in several sections of the Union. The great reduction of the currency, which the banks have been constrained to make, in order to continue specie payments, and the vitiated character of it where such reductions have not been attempted, instead of placing within the reach of these establishments the pecuniary aid necessary to avail themselves of the advantages resulting from the reduction in the prices of the raw

materials, and of labour, have compelled the banks to withdraw from them a portion of the capital heretofore advanced to them. That aid, which has been refused by the banks, has not been obtained from other sources, owing to the loss of individual confidence, from the frequent failures which have recently occurred in some of our principal commercial cities.

An additional cause for the depression of these establishments may probably be found, in the pecuniary embarrassments which have recently affected those countries with which our commerce has been principally prosecuted.

Their manufactures for the want of a ready and profitable market at home, have been shipped by the manufacturers to the United States, and, in many instances, sold at a price below their current value at the place of manufacture. Although this practice may, from its nature, be considered temporary or contingent, it is not on that account less injurious in its effects. Uniformity in the demand and price of an article is highly desirable to the domestic manufacturer.

It is deemed of great importance to give encouragement to our domestic manufactures. In what manner the evils which have been adverted to may be remedied, and how far it may be practicable, in other respects, to afford to them further encouragement, paying due regard to the other great interests of the nation, is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

The survey of the coast, for the establishment of fortifications, is now nearly completed, and considerable progress has been made in the collection of materials for the construction of fortifications in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Chesapeake Bay. The works on the Eastern bank of the Potomac, below Alexandria, and on the Pea

Patch in the Delaware, are much advanced, and it is expected that the fortifications at the Narrows, in the harbour of New-York, will be completed the present year. To derive all the advantages contemplated from these fortifications, it was necessary that they should be judiciously posted, and constructed with a view to permanence. The progress, hitherto, has therefore been slow; but, as the difficulties, in parts heretofore the least explored and known, are surmounted, it will, in future, be more rapid. As soon as the survey of the coast is completed, which it is expected will be done early in the next spring, the engineers employed in it will proceed to examine, for like purposes, the northern, and north-western frontiers.

The troops intended to occupy a station at the mouth of the St. Peters, on the Mississippi, have established themselves there, and those who were ordered to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, on the Missouri, have ascended that river to the Council Bluff, where they will remain until the next spring, when they will proceed to the place of their destination. I have the satisfaction to state, that this measure has been executed in amity with the Indian tribes, and that it promises to produce, in regard to them, all the advantages which were contemplated by it.

Much progress has likewise been made in the construction of ships of war, and in the collection of timber and other materials for ship-building. It is not doubted that our navy will soon be augmented to the number, and placed, in all respects, on the footing provided for by law.

The board, consisting of engineers and naval officers, have not yet made their final report, of sites for two naval depots, as instructed, according to the resolutions of

March 18th, and April 20th, 1818, but they have examined the coast therein designated, and their report is expected in the next month.

For the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean ; along the Southern Atlantic coast ; in the Pacific and Indian ocean ; it has been found necessary to maintain a strong naval force, which it seems proper for the present to continue. There is much reason to believe, that, if any portion of the squadron heretofore stationed in the Mediterranean should be withdrawn, our intercourse with the powers bordering on that sea would be much interrupted, if not altogether destroyed. Such, too, has been the growth of a spirit of piracy, in the other quarters mentioned, by adventurers from every country, in abuse of the friendly flags which they have assumed, that, not to protect our commerce there, would be to abandon it as a prey to their rapacity. Due attention has likewise been paid to the suppression of the slave trade, in compliance with a law of the last session. Orders have been given to the commanders of all our public ships to seize all vessels navigated under our flag engaged in that trade, and to bring them in, to be proceeded against, in the manner prescribed by that law. It is hoped that these vigorous measures, supported by like acts by other nations, will soon terminate a commerce so disgraceful to the civilized world.

In the execution of the duty imposed by these acts, and of a high trust connected with it, it is with deep regret I have to state the loss which has been sustained by the death of Commodore Perry. His gallantry, in a brilliant exploit, in the late war, added to the renown of his country. His death is deplored as a national misfortune.

JAMES MONROE..

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOV. 14, 1820.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

IN communicating to you a just view of public affairs, at the commencement of your present labours, I do it with great satisfaction, because, taking all circumstances into consideration, which claim attention, I see much cause to rejoice in the felicity of our situation. In making this remark, I do not wish to be understood to imply, that an unvaried prosperity is to be seen in every interest of this great community. In the progress of a nation, inhabiting a territory of such vast extent, and great variety of climate, every portion of which is engaged in foreign commerce, and liable to be affected, in some degree, by the changes which occur in the condition and regulations of foreign countries, it would be strange if the produce of our soil, and the industry and enterprize of our fellow-citizens, received, at all times, and in every quarter, an uniform and equal encouragement. This would be more than we would have a right to expect, under circumstances the most favourable. Pressures on certain interests, it is admitted, have been felt, but allowing to these their greatest extent, they detract but little from the force of the remark already made. In forming a just estimate of our present situation, it is proper to look at the whole; in the outline, as well as in the detail. A free, virtuous, and enlightened people know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends; and even those who suffer most, occasionally, in their transitory concerns, find great relief under their

sufferings from the blessings which they otherwise enjoy, and in the consoling and animating hope which they administer.—From whence do these pressures come? Not from a government which is founded by, administered for, and supported by, the people. We trace them to the peculiar character of the epoch in which we live, and to the extraordinary occurrences which have signalized it. The convulsions with which several of the powers of Europe have been shaken, and the long and destructive wars, in which all were engaged, with their sudden transition to a state of peace, presenting, in the first instance, unusual encouragement to our commerce, and withdrawing it, in the second, even within its wonted limit, could not fail to be sensibly felt here. The station too which we had to support through this long conflict, compelled, as we were, finally, to become a party to it, with a principal power, and to make great exertions, suffer heavy losses, and to contract considerable debts, disturbing the ordinary course of affairs, by augmenting, to a vast amount, the circulating medium, and thereby elevating, at one time, the price of every article above a just standard, and depressing it, at another, below it, had, likewise, its due effect.

It is manifest that the pressures, of which we complain, have proceeded, in a great measure, from these causes. When, then, we take into view the prosperous and happy condition of our country, in all the great circumstances which constitute the felicity of a nation; every individual in the full enjoyment of all its rights; the Union blessed with plenty, and rapidly rising to greatness, under a national government which operates with complete effect in every part, without being felt in any, except by the ample protection which it affords; and under state governments which perform their equal

share, according to a wise distribution of power between them, in promoting the public happiness, it is impossible to behold so gratifying, so glorious a spectacle, without being penetrated with the most profound and grateful acknowledgements to the Supreme Author of all good, for such manifold and inestimable blessings. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, I cannot regard the pressures to which I have adverted, otherwise than in the light of mild and instructive admonitions, warning us of dangers to be shunned in future; teaching us lessons of economy, corresponding with the simplicity and purity of our institutions, and best adapted to their support; evincing the connexion and dependence which the various parts of our happy Union have on each other, thereby augmenting daily our social incorporation, and adding by its strong ties, new strength and vigour to the political; opening a wider range, and with new encouragement, to the industry and enterprize of our fellow-citizens at home and abroad; and more especially, by the multiplied proofs which it has accumulated, of the great perfection of our most excellent system of government, the powerful instrument, in the hands of an all-merciful Creator, in securing to us these blessings.

Happy as our situation is, it does not exempt us from solicitude and care for the future. On the contrary as the blessings which we enjoy are great, proportionably great should be our vigilance, zeal, and activity to preserve them. Foreign wars may again expose us to new wrongs, which would impose on us new duties, for which we ought to be prepared. The state of Europe is unsettled, and how long peace may be preserved, is altogether uncertain. In addition to which we have interests of our own to adjust, which will require particular attention.

A correct view of our relations with each power will enable you to form a just idea of existing difficulties, and of the measures of precaution best adapted to them.

Respecting our relations with Spain, nothing explicit can now be communicated. On the adjournment of Congress, in May last, the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid was instructed to inform the government of Spain, that if his Catholic Majesty should then ratify the treaty, this government would accept the ratification so far as to submit to the decision of the Senate the question, whether such ratification should be received in exchange for that of the United States heretofore given. By letters from the minister of the United States, to the secretary of state, it appears that a communication, in conformity with his instructions, had been made to the government of Spain, and that the Cortes had the subject under consideration. The result of the deliberations of that body, which is daily expected, will be made known to Congress as soon as received. The friendly sentiment which was expressed on the part of the United States, in the message of the ninth of May last, is still entertained for Spain. Among the causes of regret, however, which are inseparable from the delay attending this transaction, it is proper to state, that satisfactory information has been received that measures have been recently adopted, by designing persons, to convert certain parts of the province of East Florida into depots for the reception of foreign goods, from whence to smuggle them into the United States. By opening a port within the limits of Florida, immediately on our boundary, where there was no settlement, the object could not be misunderstood. An early accommodation of differences will, it is hoped, prevent all such fraudulent and pernicious

practices, and place the relations of the two countries on a very amicable and permanent basis.

The commercial relations between the United States and the British colonies in the West Indies, and on this continent, have undergone no change; the British government still preferring to leave that commerce under the restriction heretofore imposed on it on each side. It is satisfactory to recollect, that the restraints resorted to by the United States were defensive only, intended to prevent a monopoly, under British regulations, in favour of Great Britain; as it likewise is to know that the experiment is advancing in a spirit of amity between the parties.

The question depending between the United States and Great Britain, respecting the construction of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, has been referred, by both governments, to the decision of the Emperor of Russia, who has accepted the umpirage.

An attempt has been made, with the government of France, to regulate, by treaty, the commerce between the two countries, on the principles of reciprocity and equality. By the last communication from the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, at Paris, to whom full power had been given, we learn that the negotiation had been commenced there; but serious difficulties having occurred, the French government had resolved to transfer it to the United States, for which purpose, the Minister plenipotentiary of France had been ordered to repair to this city, and whose arrival might soon be expected. It is hoped that this important interest may be arranged on just conditions, and in a manner equally satisfactory to both parties. It is submitted to Congress to decide, until such arrangement is made, how far it may

be proper on the principle of the act of the last session, which augmented the tonnage duty on French vessels, to adopt other measures for carrying more completely into effect the policy of that act.

The act referred to, which imposed new tonnage on French vessels, having been in force from and after the first day of July, it has happened that several vessels of that nation, which had been despatched from France, before its existence was known, have entered the ports of the United States, and been subject to its operation without that previous notice which the general spirit of our laws gives to individuals in similar cases. The object of that law having been merely to countervail the inequalities which existed to the disadvantage of the United States, in their commercial intercourse with France, it is submitted, also, to the consideration of Congress, whether in the spirit of amity and conciliation, which it is no less the inclination than the policy of the United States to preserve, in their intercourse with other powers, it may not be proper to extend relief to the individuals interested in those cases, by exempting from the operation of the law all those vessels which have entered our ports, without having had the means of previously knowing the existence of the additional duty.

The contest between Spain and the colonies, according to the most authentic information, is maintained by the latter with improved success. The unfortunate divisions which were known to exist sometime since at Buenos Ayres, it is understood still prevail. In no part of South America has Spain made any impression on the colonies, while, in many parts, and particularly in Venezuela and New Grenada, the colonies have gained strength, and acquired reputation, both for the manage-

ment of the war, in which they have been successful, and for the order of the internal administration. The late change in the government of Spain, by the re-establishment of the constitution of 1812, is an event which promises to be favourable to the revolution. Under the authority of the Cortes, the Congress of Angostura was invited to open a negotiation for the settlement of differences between the parties, to which it was replied, that they would willingly open the negotiation, provided the acknowledgment of their independence was made its basis, but not otherwise. Of further proceedings between them, we are uninformed. No facts are known to this government to warrant the belief, that any of the powers of Europe will take part in the contest; whence it may be inferred, considering all circumstances which must have weight in producing the result, that an adjustment will finally take place, on the basis proposed by the colonies. To promote that result, by friendly counsels with other powers, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of this government.

In looking to the internal concerns of our country you will, I am persuaded, derive much satisfaction, from a view of the several objects, to which, in the discharge of your official duties, your attention will be drawn. Among these, none holds a more important place than the public revenue, from the direct operation of the power, by which it is raised, on the people, and by its influence in giving effect to every other power of the government. The revenue depends on the resources of the country, and the facility by which the amount required is raised, is a strong proof of the extent of the resources, and of the efficiency of the government. A few prominent facts will place this great interest in a

just light before you. On the 30th of September 1815, the funded and floating debt of the United States was estimated at one hundred and nineteen millions six hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-eight dollars. If to this sum be added, the amount of five per cent. stock, subscribed to the Bank of the United States, the amount of the Mississippi stock, and of the stock which was issued subsequently to that date; the balances ascertained to be due to certain states for military services and to individuals for supplies furnished, and services rendered, during the late war, the public debt may be estimated as amounting, at that date, and as afterwards liquidated, to one hundred and fifty-eight millions seven hundred and thirteen thousand and forty-nine dollars. On the 30th September, 1820, it amounted to ninety-one millions nine hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and eighty-three dollars, having been reduced, in that interval, by payments, sixty-six millions eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-five dollars. During this term, the expenses of the government of the United States were likewise defrayed in every branch of the civil, military, and naval establishments; the public edifices, in this city, have been rebuilt, with considerable additions; extensive fortifications have been commenced, and are in a train of execution; permanent arsenals and magazines have been erected in various parts of the Union; our navy has been considerably augmented, and the ordnance, munitions of war, and stores, of the army and navy, which were much exhausted during the war, have been replenished. By the discharge of so large a proportion of the public debt, and the execution of such extensive and important operations, in so short a time, a just esti-

mate may be formed of the great extent of our national resources. The demonstration is the more complete and gratifying, when it is recollected that the direct tax and excise, were repealed soon after the termination of the late war, and that the revenue applied to these purposes has been derived almost wholly from other sources.

The receipts into the treasury, from every source, to the 30th September last, have amounted to sixteen millions seven hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and seven dollars, sixty-six cents, whilst the public expenditures, to the same period, amounted to sixteen millions eight hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and thirty-four dollars, seventy-two cents, leaving in the treasury, on that day, a sum estimated at one million nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars. For the probable receipts of the following year, I refer you to the statement which will be transmitted from the treasury.

The sum of three millions of dollars, authorized to be raised by loan, by an act of the last session of Congress, has been obtained upon terms advantageous to the government, indicating not only an increased confidence in the faith of the nation, but the existence of a large amount of capital, seeking that mode of investment, at a rate of interest not exceeding five per cent. per annum.

It is proper to add, that there is now due to the Treasury, for the sale of public lands, twenty-two millions nine hundred and ninety-six thousand five hundred and forty-five dollars. In bringing this subject to view, I consider it my duty to submit to Congress, whether it may not be advisable, to extend to the purchasers of these lands, in consideration of the unfavourable change which has occurred since the sales, a reasonable indulgence. It is known that the purchases were made when

the price of every article had risen to its greatest height and that the instalments are becoming due at a period of great depression. It is presumed that some plan may be devised, by the wisdom of Congress, compatible with the public interest, which would afford great relief to these purchasers.

Considerable progress has been made, during the present season, in examining the coast, and its various bays, and inlets; in the collection of materials, and in the construction of fortifications, for the defence of the Union, at several of the positions, at which it has been decided to erect such works. At Mobile Point, and Dauphin Island, and at the Rigolets, leading to Lake Pontchartrain, materials, to a considerable amount have been collected, and all the necessary preparations made for the commencement of the works. At Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James river, and the Rip Rap, on the opposite shore, in the Chesapeake Bay, materials to a vast amount, have been collected, and at the Old Point some progress has been made in the construction of the fortification, which is on a very extensive scale. The work at Fort Washington, on this river, will be completed early in the next spring; and that on the Pea Patch, in the Delaware, in the course of the next season. Fort Diamond, at the Narrows, in the harbour of New York will be finished this year. The works at Boston, New York, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and Niagara, have been, in part repaired; and the coast of North Carolina, extending south to Cape Fear, has been examined, as have likewise other parts of the coast eastward of Boston. Great exertions have been made to push forward these works, with the utmost despatch possible; but, when their ex-

tent is considered, with the important purposes for which they are intended—the defence of the whole coast, and in consequence, of the whole interior, and that they are to last for ages—it will be manifest, that a well digested plan, founded on military principles, connecting the whole together, combining security with economy, could not be prepared without repeated examinations of the most exposed and difficult parts, and that it would also take considerable time to collect the materials at the several points where they would be required. From all the light that has been shed on this subject, I am satisfied that every favorable anticipation which has been formed of this great undertaking, will be verified and that when completed, it will afford very great, if not complete, protection to our Atlantic frontier, in the event of another war; a protection, sufficient to counterbalance in a single campaign with an enemy powerful at sea, the expense of all these works, without taking into the estimate the saving of the lives of so many of our citizens, the protection of our towns, and other property, or the tendency of such works to prevent war.

Our military positions have been maintained at Belle Point, on the Arkansas, at Council Bluff, on the Missouri, at St. Peter's, on the Mississippi, and at Green Bay, on the Upper Lakes. Commodious barracks have already been erected at most of these posts, with such works as were necessary for their defence. Progress has also been made in opening communications between them, and in raising supplies at each, for the support of the troops by their own labour, particularly those most remote. With the Indians peace has been preserved and a progress made in carrying into effect the act of Congress, making an appropriation for their civilization, with pros-

pects of a favorable result. As connected equally with both these objects, our trades with those tribes is thought to merit the attention of Congress. In their original state, game is their sustenance, and war their occupation; and, if they find no employment from civilized powers, they destroy each other. Left to themselves, their extirpation is inevitable. By a judicious regulation of our trade with them, we supply their wants, administer to their comforts, and gradually, as the game retires, draw them to us. By maintaining posts far in the interior, we acquire a more thorough and direct controul over them, without which, it is confidently believed that a complete change in their manners can never be accomplished. By such posts aided by a proper regulation of our trade with them, and judicious civil administration over them, to be provided for by law, we shall, it is presumed, be enabled, not only to protect our own settlements from their savage incursions, and preserve peace among the several tribes, but accomplish, also, the great purpose of their civilization.

Considerable progress has also been made in the construction of ships of war, some of which have been launched in the course of the present year.

Our peace with the powers on the coast of Barbary has been preserved, but we owe it altogether to the presence of our squadron in the Mediterranean. It has been found equally necessary to employ some of our vessels for the protection of our commerce in the Indian sea, the Pacific, and along the Atlantic coast. The interests which we have depending in those quarters, which have been much improved of late, are of great extent, and of high importance to the nation, as well as to the parties concerned, and would undoubtedly suffer, if such protec-

tion was not extended to them. In execution of the law of the last session, for the suppression of the slave trade, some of our public ships have also been employed on the coast of Africa, where several captures have already been made of vessels engaged in that disgraceful traffic.

JAMES MONROE.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
FOURTH OF MARCH 1821.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I shall not attempt to describe the grateful emotions which the new and very distinguished proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, evinced by my re-election to this high trust, has excited in my bosom. The approbation which it announces of my conduct, in the preceding term, affords me a consolation which I shall profoundly feel through life. The general accord with which it has been expressed, adds to the great and never-ceasing obligations which it imposes. To merit the continuance of this good opinion, and to carry it with me into my retirement, as the solace of my advancing years, will be the object of my most zealous and unceasing efforts.

Having no pretensions to the high and commanding claims of my predecessors, whose names are so much more conspicuously identified with our revolution, and who contributed so pre-eminently to promote its success, I consider myself rather as the instrument than the cause of the union which has prevailed in the late election. In surmounting, in favour of my humble pretensions, the difficulties which so often produce division in like occurrences, it is obvious that other powerful causes, indicating

the great strength and stability of our union, have essentially contributed to draw you together. That these powerful causes exist, and that they are permanent, is my fixed opinion; that they may produce a like accord in all questions, touching, however remotely, the liberty, prosperity, and happiness of our country, will always be the object of my most fervent prayers to the Supreme Author of all good.

In a government which is founded by the people, who possess exclusively the sovereignty, it seems proper that the person who may be placed by their suffrages in this high trust, should declare, on commencing its duties, the principles on which he intends to conduct the administration. If the person, thus elected, has served the preceding term, an opportunity is afforded him to review its principal occurrences, and to give such further explanation respecting them, as in his judgment may be useful to his constituents. The events of one year have influence on those of another; and, in like manner, of a preceding on the succeeding administration. The movements of a great nation are connected in all their parts. If errors have been committed, they ought to be corrected; if the policy is sound, it ought to be supported. It is by a thorough knowledge of the whole subject that our fellow-citizens are enabled to judge correctly of the past, and to give a proper direction to the future.

Just before the commencement of the last term, the United States had concluded a war with a very powerful nation, on conditions equal and honorable to both parties. The events of that war are too recent, and too deeply impressed on the memory of all, to require a development from me. Our commerce had been, in a great measure, driven from the sea; our Atlantic and inland frontiers

were invaded in almost every part; the waste of life along our coast, and on some parts of our inland frontiers, to the defence of which our gallant and patriotic citizens were called, was immense; in addition to which not less than one hundred and twenty millions of dollars were added at its end to the public debt.

As soon as the war had terminated, the nation, admonished by its events, resolved to place itself in a situation which should be better calculated to prevent the recurrence of a like evil, and in case it should recur to mitigate its calamities.—With this view after reducing our land force to the basis of a peace establishment, which has been further modified since, provision was made for the construction of fortifications at proper points, through the whole extent of our coast, and such an augmentation of our naval force, as should be well adapted to both purposes. The laws, making this provision, were passed in 1815 and 16, and it has been, since, the constant effort of the executive, to carry them into effect.

The advantage of these fortifications, and of an augmented naval force, in the extent contemplated, in a point of economy, has been fully illustrated, by a report of the board of engineers and naval commissioners, lately communicated to Congress, by which it appears, that in an invasion by twenty thousand men, with a correspondent naval force, in a campaign of six months only, the whole expense of the construction of the works would be defrayed by the difference in the sum necessary to maintain the force which would be adequate to our defence with the aid of these works, and that which would be incurred without them. The reason of this difference is obvious. If fortifications are judiciously placed on our great inlets, as distant from our cities as circumstances will permit,

they will form the only points of attack, and the enemy will be detained there by a small regular force, a sufficient time to enable our militia to collect, and repair to that on which the attack is made. A force adequate to the enemy, collected at that single point, with suitable preparation for such others as might be menaced, is all that would be requisite. But, if there were no fortifications, then the enemy might go where he pleased, and, changing his position, and sailing from place to place, our force must be called out and spread in vast numbers along the whole coast, and on both sides of every bay and river, as high up in each as it might be navigable for ships of war. By these fortifications, supported by our navy, to which they would afford like support, we should present to other powers, an armed front from St. Croix to the Sabine, which would protect, in the event of war, our whole coast and interior from invasion; and even in the wars of other powers, in which we were neutral, they would be found eminently useful, as, by keeping their public ships at a distance from our cities, peace and order in them would be preserved, and the government protected from insult.

It need scarcely be remarked, that these measures have not been resorted to in a spirit of hostility to other powers. Such a disposition does not exist towards any power. Peace and good will have been, and will hereafter be, cultivated with all, and by the most faithful regard for justice. They have been dictated by a love of peace, of economy, and an earnest desire to save the lives of our fellow-citizens from that destruction, and our country from that devastation, which are inseparable from war, when it finds us unprepared for it. It is believed and experience has shown, that such a prepara-

tion is the best expedient that can be resorted to, to prevent war. I add, with much pleasure, that considerable progress has already been made in these measures of defence, and that they will be completed in a few years, considering the great extent and importance of the object, if the plan be zealously and steadily persevered in.

The conduct of the government, in what relates to foreign powers, is always an object of the highest importance to the nation. Its agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, revenue; in short, its peace, may all be affected by it. Attention is, therefore, due to this subject.

At the period adverted to, the powers of Europe, after having been engaged in long and destructive wars with each other, had concluded a peace, which happily still exists. Our peace with the power with whom we had been engaged, had also been concluded. The war between Spain and the colonies of South America, which had commenced many years before, was then the only conflict that remained unsettled. This being a contest between different parts of the same community, in which other powers had not interfered, was not affected by their accommodations.

This contest was considered, at an early stage, by my predecessor, a civil war, in which the parties were entitled to equal rights in our ports. This decision the first made by any power, being formed on great consideration of the comparative strength and resources of the parties, the length of time, and successful opposition made by the colonies, and of all other circumstances on which it ought to depend, was in strict accord with the law of nations. Congress has invariably acted on this principle, having made no change in our relations with

either party. Our attitude has therefore, been that of neutrality, between them, which has been maintained with the strictest impartiality. No aid has been afforded to either, nor has any privilege been enjoyed by the one which has not been equally open to the other party, and every exertion has been made in its power, to enforce the execution of the laws prohibiting illegal equipments, with equal rigour against both.

By this equality between the parties, their public vessels have been received in our ports on the same footing; they have enjoyed an equal right to purchase and export arms munitions of war, and every other supply, the exportation of all articles whatever being permitted under laws which were passed long before the commencement of the contest; our citizens have traded equally with both, and their commerce with each has been alike protected by the government.

Respecting the attitude which it may be proper for the United States to maintain hereafter between the parties, I have no hesitation in stating it as my opinion, that the neutrality heretofore observed, should still be adhered to. From the change in the government of Spain, and the negotiation now depending, invited by the Cortes and accepted by the colonies. it may be presumed that their differences will be settled on the terms proposed by the colonies. Should the war be continued, the United States, regarding its occurrences, will always have it in their power to adopt such measures respecting it, as their honour and interest may require.

Shortly after the general peace, a band of adventurers took advantage of this conflict, and of the facility which it afforded, to establish a system of buccaneering in the neighbouring seas, to the great annoyance of the com-

merce of the United States, and, as was represented, of that of other powers. Of this spirit and of its injurious bearing on the United States, strong proofs were afforded by the establishment at Amelia Island, and the purposes to which it was made instrumental, by this band in 1817, and by the occurrences which took place in other parts of Florida, in 1818, the details of which, in both instances, are too well known to require to be now recited. I am satisfied, had a less decisive course been adopted, that the worst consequences would have resulted from it. We have seen that these checks, decisive as they were, were not sufficient to crush that piratical spirit. Many culprits, brought within our limits have been condemned to suffer death, the punishment due to that atrocious crime. The decisions of upright and enlightened tribunals fall equally on all, whose crimes subject them, by a fair interpretation of the law, to its censure. It belongs to the executive not to suffer the executions under these decisions, to transcend the great purpose for which punishment is necessary. The full benefit of example being secured, policy, as well as humanity, equally forbids that they should be carried further. I have acted on this principle, pardoning those who appear to have been led astray by ignorance of the criminality of the acts they had committed, and suffering the law to take effect on those only, in whose favour no extenuating circumstances could be urged.

Great confidence is entertained that the late treaty with Spain, which has been ratified by both the parties, and the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, has placed the relations of the two countries on a basis of permanent friendship. The provision made by it for such of our citizens as have claims on Spain, of the cha-

racter described, will, it is presumed be very satisfactory to them, and the boundary which is established between the territories of the parties, westward of the Mississippi, heretofore in dispute, has, it is thought, been settled on conditions just and advantageous to both. But to the acquisition of Florida, too much importance cannot be attached. It secures to the United States a territory important in itself and whose importance is much increased by its bearing on many of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighbouring states a free passage to the ocean through the province ceded, by several rivers, having their sources high up within their limits. It secures us against all future annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbours in the Gulf of Mexico for ships of war of the largest size. It covers, by its position in the Gulf, the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole western country, which find a market through those streams.

By a treaty with the British government bearing date on the 20th October, 1818, the convention regulating the commerce between the United States and Great Britain, concluded on the 3d of July, 1815, which was about expiring, was revived and continued for the term of ten years from the time of its expiration. By that treaty also, the differences which had arisen under the treaty of Ghent, respecting the right claimed by the United States for their citizens, to take and cure fish on the coast of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America, with other differences on important interests, were adjusted, to the satisfaction of both parties. No agreement has yet

been entered into respecting the commerce between the United States and the British dominions in the West Indies, and on this continent. The restraints imposed on that commerce by Great Britain, and reciprocated by the United States, on a principle of defence, continue still in force.

The negotiation with France for the regulation of the commercial relations between the two countries, which, in the course of the last summer, had been commenced at Paris, has since been transferred to this city, and will be pursued, on the part of the United States, in the spirit of conciliation, and with an earnest desire that it may terminate in an arrangement satisfactory to both parties.

Our relations with the Barbary powers are preserved in the same state, and by the same means, that were employed when I came into this office. As early as 1801, it was found necessary to send a squadron into the Mediterranean, for the protection of our commerce, and no period has intervened, a short term excepted, when it was thought advisable to withdraw it. The great interest which the United States have in the Pacific, in commerce, and in the fisheries, have also made it necessary to maintain a naval force there. In disposing of this force, in both instances, the most effectual measures in our power have been taken, without interfering with its other duties, for the suppression of the slave trade, and of piracy, in the neighbouring seas.

The situation of the United States, in regard to their resources, the extent of their revenue, and the facility with which it is raised, affords a most gratifying spectacle. The payment of nearly sixty-seven millions of dollars of the public debt, with the great progress made in mea-

sures of defence, and in other improvements of various kinds, since the late war, are conclusive proofs of this extraordinary prosperity, especially when it is recollected, that these expenditures have been defrayed, without a burthen on the people, the direct tax and excise having been repealed soon after the conclusion of the late war, and the revenue applied to these great objects having been raised in a manner not to be felt. Our great resources, therefore, remain untouched, for any purpose which may affect the vital interests of the nation. For all such purposes they are inexhaustible. They are more especially to be found in the virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of our fellow-citizens, and in the devotion with which they would yield up, by any just measure of taxation, all their property, in support of the rights and honour of their country.

Under the present depression of prices, affecting all the productions of the country, and every branch of industry, proceeding from causes explained on a former occasion, the revenue has considerably diminished; the effect of which has been to compel Congress either to abandon these great measures of defence, or to resort to loans or internal taxes, to supply the deficiency. On the presumption that this depression, and the deficiency in the revenue arising from it, would be temporary, loans were authorized for the demands of the last and present year. Anxious to relieve my fellow-citizens in 1817, from every burthen which could be dispensed with, and the state of the treasury permitting it, I recommended the repeal of the internal taxes, knowing that such relief was then peculiarly necessary, in consequence of the great exertions made in the late war. I made that recommendation under a pledge that should the public exigencies

require a recurrence to them at any time while I remained in this trust, I would, with equal promptitude, perform the duty which would then be alike incumbent on me. By the experiment now making it will be seen, by the next session of Congress, whether the revenue shall have been so augmented as to be adequate to all these necessary purposes. Should the deficiency still continue, and especially, should it be probable that it would be permanent, the course to be pursued, appears to me to be obvious. I am satisfied that, under certain circumstances, loans may be resorted to with great advantage. I am equally well satisfied, as a general rule, that the demands of the current year, especially in time of peace, should be provided for by the revenue of that year.

I have never dreaded, nor have I ever shunned, in any situation in which I have been placed, making appeals to the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens, well knowing that they could never be made in vain, especially in times of great emergency, or for purposes of high national importance. Independently of the exigency of the case, many considerations of great weight, urge a policy having in view a provision of revenue to meet, to a certain extent, the demands of the nation, without relying altogether on the precarious resource of foreign commerce. I am satisfied that internal duties and excises, with corresponding imposts on foreign articles of the same kind, would without imposing any serious burthens on the people, enhance the price of produce, promote our manufactures, and augment the revenue, at the same time that they made it more secure and permanent.

The care of the Indian tribes within our limits has long been an essential part of our system, but, unfortunately it has not been executed in a manner to accom-

plish all the objects intended by it.—We have treated them as independent nations without their having any substantial pretensions to that rank. The distinction has flattered their pride, retarded their improvement, and, in many instances, paved the way to their destruction. The progress of our settlements westward, supported, as they are, by a dense population, has constantly driven them back, with almost the total sacrifice of the lands which they have been compelled to abandon. They have claims on the magnanimity, and I may add on the justice of this nation, which we must all feel. We should become their real benefactors ; we should perform the office of their Great Father, the endearing title which they emphatically give to the chief magistrate of our Union. Their sovereignty over territories should cease, in lieu of which the right of soil should be secured to each individual and his posterity, in competent portions, and, for the territory thus ceded by each tribe, some reasonable equivalent should be granted, to be vested in permanent funds for the support of civil government over them, and for the education of their children, for their instruction in the arts of husbandry, and to provide sustenance for them until they could provide it for themselves. My earnest hope is, that Congress will digest some plan, founded on these principles, with such improvements as their wisdom may suggest, and carry it into effect as soon as it may be practicable.

Europe is again unsettled, and the prospect of war increasing. Should the flame light up in any quarter, how far it may extend, it is impossible to foresee. It is our peculiar felicity to be altogether unconnected with the causes which produce this menacing aspect elsewhere. With every power we are in perfect amity, and it is our

interest to remain so, if it be practicable on just conditions. I see no reasonable cause to apprehend variance with any power, unless it proceed from a violation of our maritime rights. In these contests, should they occur, and to whatever extent they may be carried, we shall be neutral; but as a neutral power, we have rights which it is our duty to maintain. For like injuries it will be incumbent on us to seek redress in a spirit of amity, in full confidence that, injuring none, none would knowingly injure us.—For more imminent dangers we should be prepared, and it should always be recollected that such preparation, adapted to the circumstances, and sanctioned by the judgment and wishes of our constituents, cannot fail to have a good effect, in averting dangers of every kind. We should recollect, also, that the season of peace is best adapted to these preparations.

If we turn our attention, fellow-citizens, more immediately to the internal concerns of our country, and more especially to those on which its future welfare depends, we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results. It is now rather more than forty-four years since we declared our independence, and thirty-seven since it was acknowledged. The talents and virtues which were displayed in that great struggle were a sure presage of all that has since followed. A people who were able to surmount, in their infant state, such great perils, would be more competent, as they rose into manhood, to repel any which they might meet in their progress. Their physical strength would be more adequate to foreign danger and the practice of self government, aided by the light of experience, could not fail to produce an effect, equally salutary, on all those questions connected with the

internal organization. These favourable anticipations have been realized.

In our whole system, national and state, we have shunned all the defects which unceasingly preyed on the vitals and destroyed the ancient republics. In them, there were distinct orders, a nobility and a people, or the people governed in one assembly. Thus, in the one instance, there was a perpetual conflict between the orders in society for the ascendancy, in which the victory of either terminated in the overthrow of the government, and the ruin of the state. In the other, in which the people governed in a body, and whose dominions seldom exceeded the dimensions of a county in one of our states, a tumultuous and disorderly movement, permitted only a transitory existence. In this great nation there is but one order, that of the people, whose power, by a peculiarly happy improvement of the representative principle, is transferred from them without impairing, in the slightest degree their sovereignty, to bodies of their own creation, and to persons elected by themselves, in the full extent necessary, for all the purposes of free, enlightened, and efficient government. The whole system is elective, the complete sovereignty being in the people, and every officer, in every department, deriving his authority from, and being responsible to them for his conduct.

Our career has corresponded with this great outline. Perfection in our organization could not have been expected in the outset, either in the national or state governments, or in tracing the line between their respective powers. But no serious conflict has arisen, nor any contest but such as are managed by argument, and by a fair appeal to the good sense of the people; and many of the

defects which experience had clearly demonstrated in both governments, have been remedied. By steadily pursuing this course, in this spirit, there is every reason to believe that our system will soon attain the highest degree of perfection of which human institutions are capable, and that the movement, in all its branches will exhibit such a degree of order and harmony, as to command the admiration and respect of the civilized world.

Our physical attainments have not been less eminent. Twenty-five years ago, the river Mississippi was shut up, and our western brethren had no outlet for their commerce. What has been the progress since that time? The river has not only become the property of the United States, from its source to the ocean, with all its tributary streams, (with the exception of the upper part of the Red river only) but Louisiana, with a fair and liberal boundary on the western side, and the Floridas on the eastern, have been ceded to us. The United States now enjoy the complete and uninterrupted sovereignty over the whole territory from St. Croix to the Sabine. New states, settled from among ourselves in this, and in other parts, have been admitted into our union, in equal participation in the national sovereignty with the original states. Our population has augmented in an astonishing degree, and extended in every direction. We now fellow-citizens comprise within our limits the dimensions and faculties of a great power, under a government possessing all the energies of any government, ever known to the old world, with an utter incapacity to oppress the people.

Entering, with these views, the office which I have just solemnly sworn to execute with fidelity, and to the utmost of my ability, I derive great satisfaction from a

knowledge that I shall be assisted in the several departments by the very enlightened and upright citizens from whom I have received so much aid in the preceding term. With full confidence in the continuance of that candour, and generous indulgence, from my fellow-citizens at large, which I have heretofore experienced, and with a firm reliance on the protection of Almighty God, I shall forthwith commence the duties of the high trust to which you have called me.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 3, 1821.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

THE progress of our affairs since the last session has been such as may justly be claimed and expected, under a government deriving all its powers from an enlightened people, and under laws formed by their representatives, on great consideration, for the sole purpose of promoting the welfare and happiness of their constituents. In the execution of those laws, and of the powers vested by the constitution in the executive, unremitting attention has been paid to the great objects to which they extend. In the concerns which are exclusively internal, there is good cause to be satisfied with the result. The laws have had their due operation and effect. In those relating to foreign powers, I am happy to state that peace and amity are preserved with all, by a strict observance on both sides of the rights of each. In matters touching our commercial intercourse, where a difference of opinion has existed, as to the conditions on which it should be placed, each party has pursued its own policy, without giving just cause of offence to the other. In this annual communication, especially when it is addressed to a new Congress, the whole scope of our political concerns naturally comes into view; that errors, if such have been committed, may be corrected; that defects, which have become manifest, may be remedied; and on the other hand, that measures which were adopted on due deliberation, and which experience has shewn are

just in themselves, and essential to the public welfare, should be persevered in and supported. In performing this necessary and very important duty, I shall endeavour to place before you, on its merits, every subject that is thought to be entitled to your particular attention, in as distinct and clear a light as I may be able.

By an act of the 3d of March, 1815, so much of the several acts as imposed higher duties on the tonnage of foreign vessels, and on the manufactures and productions of foreign nations, when imported into the United States in foreign vessels, than when imported in vessels of the United States, were repealed, so far as respected the manufactures and productions of the nation to which such vessels belonged, on the condition, that the repeal should take effect only in favour of any foreign nation, when the executive should be satisfied that such discriminating duties, to the disadvantage of the United States, had likewise been repealed by such nation. By this act a proposition was made to all nations to place our commerce with each on a basis which, it was presumed, would be acceptable to all. Every nation was allowed to bring its manufactures and productions into our ports, and to take the manufactures and productions of the United States back to their ports, in their own vessels, on the same conditions that they might be transported in vessels of the United States; and, in return, it was required that a like accommodation should be granted to the vessels of the United States in the ports of other powers. The articles to be admitted, or prohibited on either side, formed no part of the proposed arrangement. Each party would retain the right to admit or prohibit such articles from the other, as it thought proper, and on its own conditions.

When the nature of the commerce between the United States and every other country was taken into view, it was thought that this proposition would be considered fair, and even liberal, by every power. The exports of the United States consist generally of articles of the first necessity, and of rude materials in demand for foreign manufactories, of great bulk, requiring for their transportation many vessels, the return for which, in the manufactures and productions of any foreign country, even when disposed of there to advantage, may be brought in a single vessel. This observation is the more especially applicable to those countries from which manufactures alone are imported, but it applies, in a great extent, to the European dominions of every European power, and, in a certain extent, to all the colonies of those powers. By placing, then, the navigation precisely on the same ground, in the transportation of exports and imports between the United States and other countries, it was presumed that all was offered which could be desired. It seemed to be the only proposition which could be devised, which would retain even the semblance of equality in our favour.

Many considerations of great weight gave us a right to expect that this commerce should be extended to the colonies, as well as to the European dominions, of other powers. With the latter, especially with countries exclusively manufacturing, the advantage was manifestly on their side. An indemnity for that loss was expected from a trade with the colonies, and with the greater reason, as it was known that the supplies which the colonies derived from us were of the highest importance to them, their labour being bestowed with so much greater profit in the culture of other articles; and because, likewise, the articles, of which those supplies

consisted, forming so large a proportion of the exports of the United States, were never admitted into any of the ports of Europe, except in cases of great emergency, to avert a serious calamity. When no article is admitted which is not required to supply the wants of the party admitting it, and admitted then, not in favour of any particular country, to the disadvantage of others, but on conditions equally applicable to all, it seems just that the articles thus admitted and invited should be carried thither in the vessels of the country affording such supply, and that the reciprocity should be found in a corresponding accommodation on the other side. By allowing each party to participate in the transportation of such supplies, on the payment of equal tonnage, a strong proof was afforded of an accommodating spirit. To abandon to it the transportation of the whole would be a sacrifice which ought not to be expected. The demand, in the present instance, would be the more unreasonable, in consideration of the great inequality existing in the trade with the parent country.

Such was the basis of our system, as established by the act of 1815, and such its true character. In the year in which this act was passed, a treaty was concluded with Great Britain, in strict conformity with its principles, in regard to her European dominions. To her colonies, however, in the West Indies and on this continent, it was not extended, the British government claiming the exclusive supply of those colonies, and from our own ports, and of the productions of the colonies in return, in her own vessels. To this claim the United States could not assent, and, in consequence, each party suspended the intercourse in the vessels of the other, by a prohibition. which still exists.

The same conditions were offered to France, but not accepted. Her government has demanded other conditions, more favourable to her navigation, and which should also give extraordinary encouragement to her manufactures and productions, in ports of the United States. To these it was thought improper to accede, and, in consequence, the restrictive regulations, which had been adopted on her part, being countervailed on the part of the United States, the direct commerce between the two countries, in the vessels of each party, has been in a great measure suspended. It is much to be regretted, that although a negotiation has been long pending, such is the diversity of views entertained, on the various points, which have been brought into discussion, that there does not appear to be any reasonable prospect of its early conclusion.

It is my duty to state, as a cause of very great regret, that very serious differences have occurred in this negotiation, respecting the construction of the 8th article of the treaty of 1803, by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, and likewise respecting the seizure of the *Apollo*, in 1820, for a violation of our revenue laws. The claim of the government of France has excited not less surprise than concern, because there does not appear to be a just foundation for it in either instance. By the 8th article of the treaty referred to, it is stipulated that, after the expiration of twelve years, during which time it was provided, by the 7th or preceding article, that the vessels of France and Spain should be admitted into the ports of the ceded territory, without paying higher duties on merchandise, or tonnage on the vessels, than such as were paid by citizens of the United States, the ships of France should forever afterwards be placed on the footing of the most

favoured nation. By the obvious construction of this article, it is presumed, that it was intended, that no favour should be granted to any power, in those ports, to which France should not be forthwith entitled; nor should any accommodation be allowed to another power, on conditions to which she would not, also, be entitled on the same conditions. Under this construction, no favour, or accommodation, could be granted to any power to the prejudice of France. By allowing the equivalent allowed by those powers, she would always stand, in those ports on the footing of the most favoured nation. But, if this article should be so construed as that France should enjoy, of right, and without paying the equivalent, all the advantages of such conditions as might be allowed to other powers, in return for important concessions made by them, then the whole character of the stipulation would be changed. She would not be placed on a footing of the most favoured nation, but on a footing held by no other nation. She would enjoy all advantages allowed to them, in consideration of like advantages allowed to us, free from every, and any, condition whatever.

As little cause has the Government of France to complain of the seizure of the Appollo, and the removal of other vessels, from the waters of the St. Mary's. It will not be denied, that every nation has a right to regulate its commercial system as it thinks fit, and to enforce the collection of its revenue, provided it be done without an invasion of the rights of other powers. The violation of its revenue laws is an offence which all nations punish:—the punishment of which, gives no just cause of complaint to the power to which the offenders belong, provided it be extended to all equally. In this case, every circumstance which occurred indicated a fixed pur-

pose to violate our revenue laws. Had the party intended to have pursued a fair trade, he would have entered our ports, and paid the duties; or, had he intended to carry on a legitimate circuitous commerce with the United States, he would have entered the port of some other power, landed his goods at the custom house according to law, and re-shipped and sent them in the vessel of such power, or of some other power which might lawfully bring them, free from such duties, to a port of the United States. But the conduct of the party in this case was altogether different. He entered the river St. Mary's, the boundary line between the United States and Florida, and took his position on the Spanish side, on which, in the whole extent of the river, there was no town, no port, or custom house, and scarcely any settlement. His purpose, therefore, was not to sell his goods to the inhabitants of Florida, but to citizens of the United States, in exchange for their productions, which could not be done without a direct and palpable breach of our laws. It is known that a regular systematic plan had been formed by certain persons for the violation of our revenue system, which made it the more necessary to check the proceeding in its commencement.

That the unsettled bank of a river so remote from the Spanish garrisons and population could give no protection to any party, in such a practice, is believed to be in strict accord with the law of nations. It would not have comported with a friendly policy, in Spain herself, to have established a custom house there, since it could have subserved no other purpose than to elude our revenue law. But, the government of Spain did not adopt that measure. On the contrary, it is under-

stood, that the captain general of Cuba, to whom an application to that effect was made, by these adventurers, had not acceded to it. The condition of those provinces for many years before they were ceded to the United States, need not, now, be dwelt on. Inhabited by different tribes of Indians, and an inroad for every kind of adventurer, the jurisdiction of Spain may be said to have been, almost exclusively, confined to her garrisons. It certainly could not extend to places where she had no authority. The rules, therefore, applicable to settled countries, governed by laws, could not be deemed so, to the deserts of Florida, and to the occurrences there. It merits attention, also, that the territory had then been ceded to the United States by a treaty, the ratification of which had not been refused, and which has since been performed. Under any circumstances, therefore, Spain became less responsible for such acts committed there, and the United States more at liberty to exercise authority to prevent so great a mischief. The conduct of this government has, in every instance, been conciliatory and friendly to France. The construction of our revenue law, in its application to the cases which have formed the ground of such serious complaint on her part, and the order to the collector of St. Mary's, in accord with it, were given two years before these cases occurred, and in reference to a breach which was attempted by the subjects of another power. The application, therefore, to the cases in question, was inevitable. As soon as the treaty, by which these provinces were ceded to the United States, was ratified, and all danger of further breach of our revenue laws ceased, an order was given for the release of the vessel, which had been seized, and for the dismissal of the libel which had been instituted against her.

The principles of this system of reciprocity, founded on the law of 3d of March, 1815, have been since carried into effect with the kingdoms of the Netherlands, Sweden, Prussia, and with Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and Oldenburg, with a provision made by subsequent laws, in regard to the Netherlands, Prussia, Hamburg, and Bremen, that such produce and manufactures, as could only be, or most usually were, first shipped from the ports of those countries, the same being imported in vessels wholly belonging to their subjects, should be considered and admitted as their own manufactures and productions.

The government of Norway has, by an ordinance, opened the ports of that part of the dominions of the king of Sweden, to the vessels of the United States, upon the payment of no other or higher duties than are paid by Norwegian vessels, from whatever place arriving, and with whatever articles laden. They have requested the reciprocal allowance for the vessels of Norway in the ports of the United States. As this privilege is not within the scope of the act of the 3d of March, 1815, and can only be granted by Congress, and as it may involve the commercial relations of the United States with other nations, the subject is submitted to the wisdom of Congress.

I have presented thus fully to your view our commercial relations with other powers, that, seeing them in detail with each power, and knowing the basis on which they rest, Congress may in its wisdom decide, whether any change ought to be made, and, if any, in what respect. If this basis is unjust or unreasonable, surely it ought to be abandoned; but if it be just and reasonable, and any change in it will make concessions subversive of equality, and tending in its consequences to sap the foundations of our prosperity, then the reasons are

equally strong, for adhering to the ground already taken and supporting it by such further regulations as may appear to be proper, should any additional support be found necessary.

The question concerning the construction of the first article of the treaty of Ghent has been, by a joint act of the representatives of the United States, and of Great Britain, at the court of St. Petersburg, submitted to the decision of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia. The result of that submission has not yet been received. The commissioners under the fifth article of that treaty not having been able to agree upon their decision, their reports to the two governments, according to the provisions of the treaty, may be expected at an early day.

With Spain, the treaty of February 22d, 1819, has been partly carried into execution. Possession of East and West Florida has been given to the United States, but the officers charged with that service, by an order from his Catholic Majesty, delivered by his minister to the Secretary of State, and transmitted by a special agent to the captain general of Cuba, to whom it was directed, and in whom the government of those provinces was vested, have not only omitted, in contravention of the order of their sovereign, the performance of the express stipulation, to deliver over the archives and documents relating to the property and sovereignty of those provinces, all of which it was expected would have been delivered, either before or when the troops were withdrawn, but defeated, since, every effort of the United States to obtain them, especially those of the greatest importance. This omission has given rise to several incidents of a painful nature, the character of which will

be fully disclosed, by the documents which will be hereafter communicated.

In every other circumstance, the law of the 3d of March, last, for carrying into effect that treaty, has been duly attended to. For the execution of that part which preserved in force, for the government of the inhabitants, for the term specified, all the civil, military, and judicial powers, exercised by the existing government of those provinces, an adequate number of officers, as was presumed, were appointed, and ordered to their respective stations. Both provinces were formed into one territory, and a governor appointed for it; but, in consideration, of the pre-existing division, and of the distance and difficulty of communication between Pensacola, the residence of the governor of West Florida, and St. Augustine, that of the governor of East Florida, at which places the inconsiderable population of each province was principally collected, two Secretaries were appointed, the one to reside at Pensacola, and the other at St. Augustine. Due attention was likewise paid to the execution of the laws of the United States relating to the revenue and slave trade, which were extended to these provinces. The whole territory was divided into three collection districts, that part lying between the river St. Mary's and Cape Florida, forming one, that from the Cape to the Apalachicola, another, and that from the Apalachicola to the Perdido, the third. To these districts the usual number of revenue officers were appointed; and, to secure the due operation of these laws, one judge and a district attorney were appointed, to reside at Pensacola, and, likewise, one judge and a district attorney to reside at St. Augustine, and a specified boundary between them; and one marshal for the whole, with the authority to appoint a deputy. In

carrying this law into effect, and especially that part relating to the powers of the existing government of those provinces, it was thought important, in consideration of the short term for which it was to operate, and the radical change which would be made at the approaching session of Congress, to avoid expense, to make no appointment which should not be absolutely necessary to give effect to those powers, to withdraw none of our citizens from their pursuits, whereby to subject the government to claims which could not be gratified, and the parties to losses, which it would be painful to witness.

It has been seen, with much concern, that in the performance of these duties, a collision arose between the Governor of the territory, and the Judge appointed for the Western District. It was presumed, that the law under which this transitory government was organized, and the commissions which were granted to the officers, who were appointed to execute each branch of the system, and to which the commissions were adapted would have been understood in the same sense, by them, in which they were understood by the Executive. Much allowance is due to officers employed in each branch of this system, and the more so, as there is good cause to believe that each acted under the conviction, that he possessed the power which he undertook to exercise. Of the officer holding the principal station I think it proper to observe, that he accepted it with reluctance, in compliance with the invitation given him, and from a high sense of duty to his country, being willing to contribute to the consummation of an event which would ensure complete protection to an important part of our Union, which had suffered much, from incursion and

invasion, and to the defence of which, his very gallant and patriotic services had been so signally and usefully devoted.

From the intrinsic difficulty of executing laws deriving their origin from different sources, and so essentially different in many important circumstances, the advantage, and, indeed, the necessity, of establishing as soon as may be practicable, a well organized government over that territory, on the principles of our system, is apparent. This subject is, therefore, recommended to the early consideration of Congress.

In compliance with an injunction of the law of the 3d of March, last, three Commissioners have also been appointed, and a board organized, for carrying into effect the eleventh article of the treaty above recited, making provision for the payment of such of our citizens, as have well-founded claims on Spain, of the character specified by that treaty. This board has entered on its duties and made some progress therein. The Commissioner and Surveyor of His Catholic Majesty, provided for by the fourth article of the treaty, have not yet arrived in the United States, but are soon expected. As soon as they do arrive, corresponding appointments will be made, and every facility be afforded, for the due execution of this service.

The government of His Most Faithful Majesty, since the termination of the last session of Congress, has been removed from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon, where a revolution, similar to that which had occurred in the neighbouring kingdom of Spain, had, in like manner, been sanctioned by the accepted and pledged faith of the reigning Monarch. The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and the Portuguese dominions, interrupted

by this important event, has not yet been resumed, but, the change of internal administration having already materially affected the commercial intercourse of the United States with the Portuguese dominions, the renewal of the public missions between the two countries appears to be desirable at an early day.

It is understood that the colonies in South America have had great success during the present year, in the struggle for their independence. The new government of Colombia has extended its territories, and considerably augmented its strength; and, at Buenos Ayres, where civil dissensions had for some time before prevailed, greater harmony and better order appear to have been established. Equal success has attended their efforts in the provinces on the Pacific. It has long been manifest that it would be impossible for Spain to reduce these colonies by force, and equally so that no conditions short of their independence would be satisfactory to them. It may therefore be presumed, and it is earnestly hoped, that the government of Spain, guided by enlightened and liberal counsels, will find it to comport with its interests, and due to its magnanimity, to terminate this exhausting controversy on that basis. To promote this result, by friendly counsel with the government of Spain, will be the object of the government of the United States.

In conducting the fiscal operations of the year, it has been found necessary to carry into full effect the act of the last session of Congress, authorizing a loan of five millions of dollars. This sum has been raised at an average premium of five dollars fifty-nine hundredths per centum, upon stock bearing an interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, redeemable at the option of the government after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

There has been issued under the provisions of this act, four millions seven hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and ninety-six dollars thirty cents, of five per cent. stock; and there has been, or will be, redeemed, during the year, three millions one hundred and ninety-seven thousand thirty dollars seventy-one cents of Louisiana six per cent. deferred stock, and Mississippi stock. There has, therefore been an actual increase of the public debt, contracted during the year, of one million five hundred and thirty-eight thousand two hundred and sixty-six dollars sixty-nine cents.

The receipts into the treasury, from the first of January to the thirtieth of September last, have amounted to sixteen millions two hundred and nineteen thousand one hundred and ninety-seven dollars seventy cents, which with the balance of one million one hundred and ninety-eight thousand four hundred and sixty-one dollars twenty-one cents, in the treasury on the former day, make the aggregate sum of seventeen millions four hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-eight dollars ninety-one cents.

The payments from the treasury during the same period have amounted to fifteen millions six hundred and fifty-five thousand two hundred and eighty-eight dollars forty-seven cents, leaving in the treasury, on the last mentioned day, the sum of one million seven hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and seventy dollars forty-four cents. It is estimated that the receipts of the fourth quarter of the year will exceed the demands which will be made on the treasury during the same period, and that the amount in the treasury on the 30th of September last will be increased on the first day of January next.

At the close of the last session, it was anticipated that the progressive diminution of the public revenue in 1819 and 1820, which had been the result of the languid state of our foreign commerce in those years, had, in the latter year, reached its extreme point of depression. It has, however, been ascertained that the power was reached only at the termination of the first quarter of the present year. From that time until the 30th of September last, the duties secured have exceeded those of the corresponding quarters of the last year, one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars; whilst the amount of debentures, issued during the three first quarters of this year, is nine hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars less than that of the same quarters of the last year.

There are just grounds to believe that the improvement which has occurred in the revenue, during the last mentioned period, will not only be maintained, but that it will progressively increase through the next and several succeeding years, so as to realize the results which were presented upon that subject, by the official reports of the treasury, at the commencement of the last session of Congress.

Under the influence of the most unfavourable circumstances, the revenue, for the next and subsequent years, to the year 1825, will exceed the demands at present authorized by law.

It may fairly be presumed, that, under the protection given to domestic manufactures, by the existing laws, we shall become, at no distant period, a manufacturing country, on an extensive scale. Possessing, as we do, the raw materials in such vast amount, with a capacity to augment them to an indefinite extent; raising within

the country aliment of every kind, to an amount far exceeding the demand for home consumption, even in the most unfavourable years, and to be obtained always at a very moderate price; skilled also, as our people are, in the mechanic arts, and in every improvement calculated to lessen the demand for, and the price of, labour, it is manifest that their success in every branch of domestic industry, may and will be carried, under the encouragement given by the present duties, to an extent to meet any demand, which, under a fair competition may be made upon it.

A considerable increase of domestic manufactures, by diminishing the importation of foreign, will probably tend to lessen the amount of the public revenue. As, however, a large proportion of the revenue which is derived from duties, is raised from other articles than manufactures, the demand for which will increase with our population, it is believed that a fund will still be raised from that source adequate to the greater part of the public expenditures, especially as those expenditures, should we continue to be blessed with peace, will be diminished by the completion of the fortifications, dock-yards, and other public works; by the augmentation of the navy to the point to which it is proposed to carry it; and by the payment of the public debt, including pensions for military services.

It cannot be doubted, that the more complete our internal resources, and the less dependent we are on foreign powers, for every national, as well as domestic purpose, the greater and more stable will be the public felicity. By the increase of domestic manufactures will the demand for the rude materials at home be increased, and thus will the dependence of the several parts of our Union on each

other, and the strength of the Union itself, be proportionably augmented. In this process, which is very desirable, and inevitable under the existing duties, the resources which obviously present themselves to supply a deficiency in the revenue, should it occur, are the interests which may derive the principal benefit from the change. If domestic manufactures are raised, by duties on foreign, the deficiency in the fund necessary for public purposes should be supplied by duties on the former. At the last session it seemed doubtful whether the revenue derived from the present sources would be adequate to the great purposes of our Union, including the construction of our fortifications, the augmentation of the navy, and the protection of our commerce against the dangers to which it is exposed. Had the deficiency been such as to subject us to the necessity, either to abandon those measures of defence, or to resort to other means for adequate funds, the course presented to the adoption of a virtuous and enlightened people appeared to be a plain one. It must be gratifying to all to know that this necessity does not exist. Nothing however, in contemplation of such important objects which can be easily provided for, should be left to hazard. It is thought that the revenue may receive an augmentation from the existing sources, and in a manner to aid our manufactures, without hastening prematurely the result which has been suggested. It is believed that a moderate additional duty on certain articles would have that effect, without being liable to any serious objection.

The examination of the whole coast, for the construction of permanent fortifications, from St. Croix to the Sabine, with the exception of part of the territory lately acquired, will be completed in the present year, as will be

the survey of the Mississippi, under the resolution of the House of Representatives, from the mouth of the Ohio, to the Ocean—and, likewise, of the Ohio, from Louisville to the Mississippi. A progress, corresponding with the sums appropriated, has also been made in the construction of these fortifications at the points designated. As they will form a system of defence, for the whole maritime frontier, and, in consequence, for the interior, and are to last for ages, the greatest care has been taken to fix the position of each work, and to form it on such a scale as will be adequate to the purpose intended by it. All the inlets and assailable parts of our Union have been minutely examined, and positions taken, with a view to the best effect, observing, in every instance, a just regard for economy. Doubts, however, being entertained as to the propriety of the position and extent of the work at Dauphine Island, further progress in it was suspended, soon after the last session of Congress, and an order given to the Board of Engineers and Naval Commissioners to make a further and more minute examination of it, in both respects, and to report the result without delay.

Due progress has been made in the construction of vessels of war, according to the law providing for the gradual augmentation of the navy, and to the extent of existing appropriations. The vessels authorized by the act of 1820 have all been completed and are now in actual service. None of the larger ships have been, or will be, launched, for the present, the object being to protect all which may not be required for immediate service, from decay, by suitable buildings erected over them. A squadron has been maintained, as heretofore in the Mediterranean, by means whereof peace has been pre-

served with the Barbary powers. This squadron has been reduced the present year to as small a force as is compatible with the fulfilment of the object intended by it. From past experience, and the best information respecting the views of those powers, it is distinctly understood that, should our squadron be withdrawn, they would soon recommence their hostilities and depredations upon our commerce. Their fortifications have lately been rebuilt and their maritime force increased. It has also been found necessary to maintain a naval force on the Pacific, for the protection of the very important interests of our citizens engaged in commerce and the fisheries in that sea. Vessels have likewise been employed in cruising along the Atlantic coast, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, and in the neighbouring seas. In the latter many piracies have been committed on our commerce, and so extensive was becoming the range of those unprincipled adventurers, that there was cause to apprehend without a timely and decisive effort to suppress them, the worst consequences would ensue. Fortunately, a considerable check has been given to that spirit by our cruisers, who have succeeded in capturing and destroying several of their vessels. Nevertheless, it is considered an object of high importance to continue these cruises until the practice is entirely suppressed. Like success, has attended our efforts to suppress the slave trade. Under the flag of the United States, and the sanction of their papers, the trade may be considered as entirely suppressed; and, if any of our citizens are engaged in it, under the flag and papers of other powers, it is only from a respect to the rights of those powers, that these offenders are not seized and brought home, to receive the punishment which the laws

inflict. If every other power should adopt the same policy, and pursue the same vigorous means for carrying it into effect, the trade could no longer exist.

Deeply impressed with the blessings which we enjoy, and of which we have such manifold proofs, my mind is irresistibly drawn to that Almighty Being, the Great Source from whence they proceed, and to whom our most grateful acknowledgments are due.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 3, 1822.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives,

MANY causes unite to make your present meeting peculiarly interesting to our constituents. The operation of our laws, on the various subjects which they apply, with the amendments which they occasionally require, imposes, annually, an important duty on the representatives of a free people. Our system has happily advanced to such maturity, that I am not aware that your cares, in that respect will be augmented. Other causes exist which are highly interesting to the whole civilized world, and to no portion of it more so, in certain views, than to the United States. Of these causes, and of their bearing on the interests of our Union, I shall communicate the sentiments which I have formed, with that freedom which a sense of duty dictates. It is proper, however, to invite your attention, in the first instance, to those concerns, respecting which legislative provisions is thought to be particularly urgent.

On the 24th of June last, a convention of navigation and commerce was concluded, in this city between the United States and France, by ministers duly authorized for the purpose. The sanction of the executive having been given to this convention, under a conviction that, taking all its stipulations into view it rested essentially on a basis of reciprocal and equal advantage, I deemed it my duty, in compliance with the authority vested in the executive, by the second section of the act of the last

session, of the 6th May, concerning navigation, to suspend by proclamation, until the end of the next session of Congress, the operation of the act, entitled "An act to impose a new tonnage duty on French ships and vessels, and for other purposes," and to suspend, likewise, all other duties on French vessels, or the goods imported in them, which exceeded the duties on American vessels, and on similar goods imported in them. I shall submit this convention forthwith to the Senate for its advice and consent as to the ratification.

Since your last session the prohibition which had been imposed on the commerce between the United States and the British colonies in the West Indies and on this continent, has likewise been removed. Satisfactory evidence having been adduced, that the ports of those colonies had been opened to the vessels of the United States by an act of the British parliament, bearing date on the 24th of June last, on the conditions specified therein, I deemed it proper, in compliance with the provision of the first section of the act of the last session above recited, to declare, by proclamation, bearing date on the 24th of August last, that the ports of the United States should thenceforward, and until the end of the next session of Congress, be open to vessels of Great Britain employed in that trade, under the limitation specified in that proclamation.

A doubt was entertained whether the act of Congress applied to the British colonies on this continent, as well as to those in the West Indies; but, as the act of parliament opened the intercourse equally with both, and it was the manifest intention of Congress, as well as the obvious policy of the United States, that the provisions of the act of parliament should be met, in equal extent, on

the part of the United States, and as also the act of Congress was supposed to vest in the president some discretion in the execution of it, I thought it advisable to give it a corresponding construction.

Should the constitutional sanction of the Senate be given to the ratification of the convention with France, legislative provision will be necessary to carry it fully into effect, as it likewise will be to continue in force, on such conditions as may be deemed just and proper, the intercourse which has been opened between the United States and the British colonies. Every light in the possession of the executive will, in due time, be communicated on both subjects.

Resting essentially on a basis of reciprocal and equal advantage, it has been the object of the executive, in transactions with other powers, to meet the propositions of each with a liberal spirit, believing that thereby the interest of our country would be most effectually promoted. 'This course has been systematically pursued in the late occurrences with France and Great Britain, and in strict accord with the views of the legislature. A confident hope is entertained, that, by the arrangement thus commenced with each, all differences respecting navigation and commerce with the dominions in question, will be adjusted, and a solid foundation be laid for an active and permanent intercourse which will prove equally advantageous to both parties.

The decision of His Imperial Majesty the emperor of Russia, on the question submitted to him by the United States and Great Britain, concerning the construction of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, has been received. A convention has since been concluded, between the parties, under the mediation of his Imperial Majesty, to

prescribe the mode by which that article shall be carried into effect, in conformity with that decision. I shall submit this convention to the Senate for its advice and consent, as to the ratification, and if obtained, shall immediately bring the subject before Congress, for such provision as may require the interposition of the legislature.

In compliance with an act of the last session, a territorial government has been established in Florida, on the principles of our system. By this act, the inhabitants are secured in the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and to admission into the Union, with equal participation in the government with the original states, on the conditions heretofore prescribed to other territories. By a clause in the ninth article of the treaty with Spain, by which that territory was ceded to the United States, it is stipulated that satisfaction shall be made for the injuries, if any, which, by process of law, shall be established to have been suffered by the Spanish officers, and individual Spanish inhabitants, by the late operations of our troops, in Florida. No provision having yet been made, to carry that stipulation into effect, it is submitted to the consideration of Congress, whether it will not be proper to vest the competent power in the District Court at Pensacola, or in some tribunal to be specially organized for that purpose.

The fiscal operations of the year have been more successful than had been anticipated at the commencement of the last session of Congress.

The receipts into the treasury during the three first quarters of the year, have exceeded the sum of fourteen millions seven hundred and forty-five thousand dollars. The payments made at the treasury during the same pe-

riod have exceeded twelve millions two hundred and seventy-nine thousand dollars, leaving in the treasury on the 30th day of September last, [including one million one hundred and sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-two dollars and twenty-four cents, which were in the treasury on the first day of January last] a sum exceeding four millions one hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars.

Besides discharging all demands for the current service of the year, including the interest and reimbursement of the public debt, the six per cent. stock of 1796, amounting to eighty thousand dollars has been redeemed. It is estimated that after defraying the current expenses of the present quarter, and redeeming the two millions of six per cent. stock of 1820, there will remain in the treasury, on the first day of January next, nearly three millions of dollars. It is estimated that the gross amount of duties which have been secured, from the first of January to the 30th of September last, has exceeded nineteen millions five hundred thousand dollars, and the amount for the whole year will probably not fall short of twenty-three millions of dollars.

Of the actual force in service under the present military establishment, the posts at which it is stationed, and the condition of each post, a report from the secretary of war, which is now communicated will give a distinct idea. By like reports, the state of the Academy at West Point, will be seen, as will be the progress which has been made in the fortifications along the coast, and at the national armories and arsenals.

The position on the Red river, and that at the Sault at St. Marie, are the only new posts that have been taken. These posts, with those already occupied in the interior

are thought to be well adapted to the protection of our frontiers. All the force not placed in the garrisons, along the coast, and in the ordnance depots, and indispensably necessary there, is placed on the frontiers.

The organization of the several corps, composing the army, is such as to admit its expansion to a great extent, in case of emergency, the officers carrying with them all the light which they possess to the new corps, to which they might be appointed.

With the organization of the staff, there is equal cause to be satisfied. By the concentration of every branch, with its chief in this city, in the presence of the department, and with a grade in the chief military station, to keep alive and cherish a military spirit, the greatest promptitude in the execution of orders, with the greatest economy and efficiency, are secured. The same view is taken of the Military Academy. Good order is preserved in it, and the youths are well instructed in every science connected with the great objects of the institution. They are also well trained and disciplined in the practical parts of the profession. It has always been found difficult to control the ardor inseparable from that early age, in such manner as to give it a proper direction. The rights of manhood are too often claimed prematurely, in pressing which too far, the respect which is due to age, and the obedience necessary to a course of study and instruction, in every such institution are sometimes lost sight of. The great object to be accomplished is the restraint of that ardor, by such wise regulations and government, as, by directing all the energies of the youthful mind to the attainment of useful knowledge, will keep it within a just subordination, and at the same time elevate it to the highest purposes.

This object seems to be essentially obtained in this institution, and with great advantage to the Union.

The military academy forms the basis in regard to science, on which the military establishment rests. It furnishes annually, after due examination, and on the report of the academic staff, many well informed youths, to fill the vacancies which occur in the several corps of the army, while others, who retire to private life, carry with them such attainments, as, under the right reserved to the several states to appoint the officers and to train the militia, will enable them, by affording a wider field for selection, to promote the great object of the power vested in Congress, of providing for the organizing, arming and disciplining the militia. Thus, by the mutual and harmonious co-operation of the two governments in the execution of a power divided between them, an object always to be cherished, the attainment of a great result, on which our liberties may depend, cannot fail to be secured. I have to add, that, in proportion as our regular force is small, should the instruction and discipline of the militia, the great resource on which we rely, be pushed to the utmost extent that circumstances will admit.

A report from the secretary of the navy will communicate the progress which has been made in the construction of vessels of war, with other interesting details respecting the actual state of the affairs of that department. It has been found necessary for the protection of our commerce, to maintain the usual squadrons on the Mediterranean, the Pacific, and along the Atlantic coast, extending the cruizes of the latter into the West Indies, where piracy, organized into a system, has preyed on the commerce of every country trading thither. A cruize has also been maintained on the coast of Afri-

ca, when the season would permit, for the suppression of the slave trade, and orders have been given to the commanders of all our public ships to seize our own vessels, should they find any engaged in that trade, and to bring them in for adjudication.

In the West Indies piracy is of recent date, which may explain the cause why other Powers have not combined against it. By the documents communicated, it will be seen that the efforts of the United States to suppress it, have had a very salutary effect. The benevolent provision of the act, under which the protection has been extended alike to the commerce of other nations, cannot fail to be duly appreciated by them.

In compliance with the act of the last session entitled "An act to abolish the United States trading establishments," agents were immediately appointed and instructed, under the direction of the secretary of the treasury, to close the business of the trading-houses among the Indian tribes, and to settle the accounts of the factors and sub-factors engaged in that trade, and to execute in all other respects, the injunctions of that act, in the mode prescribed therein. A final report of their proceedings shall be communicated to Congress as soon as it is received.

It is with great regret I have to state that a serious malady has deprived us of many valuable citizens at Pensacola, and checked the progress of some of those arrangements which are important to the territory. This effect has been sensibly felt in respect to the Indians who inhabit that territory, consisting of the remnants of several tribes who occupy the middle ground between St. Augustine and Pensacola, with extensive claims but undefined boundaries. Although peace is preserved

with those Indians, yet their position and claims tend essentially to interrupt the intercourse between the eastern and western parts of the territory, on which our inhabitants are principally settled. It is essential to the growth and prosperity of the territory, as well as to the intercourse of the Union, that these Indians should be removed, by special compact with them, to some other position, or concentrated within narrower limits where they are. With the limited means in the power of the executive, instructions were given to the governor to accomplish this object, so far as it might be practicable, which was prevented by the distressing malady referred to. To carry it fully into effect in either mode, additional funds will be necessary, to the provision of which the powers of Congress alone are competent. With a view to such provision as may be deemed proper, the subject is submitted to your consideration, and in the interim, further proceedings are suspended.

It appearing that so much of the act, entitled "An act regulating the staff of the army," which passed on the 14th April 1818, as relates to the commissariat, will expire in April next, and the practical operation of that department having evinced its great utility, the propriety of its renewal is submitted to your consideration.

The view of which has been taken of the probable productiveness of the lead mines, connected with the importance of the material to the public defence, makes it expedient that they should be managed with peculiar care. It is therefore suggested whether it will not comport with the public interest to provide by law for the appointment of an agent skilled in mineralogy, to superintend them under the direction of the proper department.

It is understood that the Cumberland road, which

was constructed at a great expense has already suffered from the want of that regular superintendence and of those repairs, which are indispensable to the preservation of such a work. This road is of incalculable advantage in facilitating the intercourse between the Western and the Atlantic States. Through it, the whole country from the Northern extremity of Lake Erie to the Mississippi, and from all the waters which empty into each, finds an easy and direct communication to the seat of government and thence to the Atlantic. The facility which it affords to all military and commercial operations, and also to those of the post-office department, cannot be estimated too highly. This great work is likewise an ornament and an honour to the nation. Believing that a competent power to adopt and execute a system of internal improvement has not been granted to Congress, but that such a power, confined to great national purposes, and with proper limitations, would be productive of eminent advantage to our Union, I have thought it advisable that an amendment of the Constitution, to that effect should be recommended to the several states. A bill which assumed the right to adopt and execute such a system having been presented for my signature, at the last session, I was compelled, from the view which I had taken of the powers of the general government, to negative it, on which occasion I thought it proper to communicate the sentiments which I had formed, on mature consideration, on the whole subject. To that communication, in all the views in which the great interest to which it relates, may be supposed to merit your attention, I have now to refer. Should Congress, however, deem it improper to recommend such an amendment, they have, according to my judgment, the right

to keep the road in repair, by providing for the superintendence of it, and appropriating the money necessary for repairs. Surely, if they had the right to appropriate money to make the road, they have a right to appropriate it to preserve the road from ruin. From the exercise of this power; no danger is to be apprehended. Under our happy system the people are the sole and exclusive fountain of power. Each government originates from them, and to them alone each to its proper constituents, are they respectively and solely responsible, for the faithful discharge of their duty, within their constitutional limits. And that the people will confine their public agents, of every station, to the strict line of their constitutional duties, there is no cause to doubt. Having, however communicated my sentiments to Congress, at the last session, fully in the documents to which I have referred, respecting the right of appropriation, as distinct from the right of jurisdiction and sovereignty over the territory in question, I deem it improper to enlarge on the subject here.

From the best information that I have been able to obtain, it appears that our manufactures, though depressed immediately after the peace, have considerably increased, and are still increasing, under the encouragement given them by the Tariff of 1816, and by subsequent laws. Satisfied I am, whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favour of unrestricted commerce, provided all nations would concur in it, and it was not liable to be interrupted by war, which has never occurred, and cannot be expected, that there are other strong reasons applicable to our situation, and relations with other countries, which impose on us the obligation to cherish and sustain our manufactures. Satisfied, however, I

likewise am, that the interest of every part of our Union, even of those most benefitted by manufactures, requires, that this subject should be touched with the greatest caution, and a critical knowledge of the effect to be produced by the slightest change. On full consideration of the subject, in all its relations, I am persuaded, that a further augmentation may now be made of the duties on certain foreign articles, in favour of our own, and without affecting, injuriously any other interest. For more precise details I refer you to the communications which were made to Congress during the last session.

So great was the amount of accounts for monies advanced during the late war, in addition to others of a previous date, which, in the regular operations of the government, necessarily remained unsettled, that it required a considerable length of time for their adjustment. By a report from the first Comptroller of the treasury, it appears, that, on the fourth of March, 1817, the accounts then unsettled amounted to one hundred and three millions sixty eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-six dollars and forty-one cents, of which, on the 30th of September of the present year, ninety-three millions one hundred and seventy-five thousand three hundred and ninety-six dollars and fifty-six cents had been settled; leaving on that day a balance unsettled of nine millions eight hundred and ninety-three thousand four hundred and seventy-nine dollars and eighty-five cents.— That there have been drawn from the treasury, in paying the public debt and sustaining the government in all its operations and disbursements, since the fourth of March, 1817, one hundred and fifty-seven millions one hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and eighty dollars and ninety-six cents, the accounts for

which have been settled to the amount of one hundred and thirty-seven millions five hundred and one thousand four hundred and fifty-one dollars and twelve cents, leaving a balance unsettled of nineteen millions six hundred and ninety-seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine dollars and eighty-four cents. For precise details respecting each of these balances, I refer to the report of the Comptroller, and the documents which accompany it.

From this view it appears that our commercial differences with France and Great Britain, have been placed in a train of amicable arrangement, on conditions fair and honourable, in both instances, to each party; that our finances are in a very productive state; our revenue being at present fully competent to all the demands upon it; that our military force is well organized in all its branches, and capable of rendering the most important service, in case of emergency, that its number will admit of; that due progress has been made under existing appropriations, in the construction of fortifications, and in the operations of the ordnance department; that due progress has, in like manner, been made in the construction of ships of war; that our navy is in the best condition, felt and respected, in every sea in which it is employed for the protection of our commerce; that our manufactures have augmented in amount and improved in quality; that great progress has been made in the settlement of accounts, and in the recovery of the balances due by individuals; and that the utmost economy is secured and observed, in every department of the administration.

Other objects will likewise claim your attention; because, from the station which the United States holds, as a member of the great community of nations, they have rights to maintain, duties to perform, and dangers to encounter.

A strong hope was entertained that peace would ere this, have been concluded between Spain and the Independent Governments south of the United States in this hemisphere. Long experience having evinced the competency of those governments to maintain the independence which they had declared, it was presumed, that the considerations which induced their recognition to the United States, would have had equal weight with other powers, and that of Spain herself, yielding to those magnanimous feelings, of which her history furnishes so many examples, would have terminated, on that basis a controversy so unavailing, and at the same time so destructive. We still cherish the hope, that this result will not long be postponed.

Sustaining our neutral position, and allowing to each party, while the war continues, equal rights, it is incumbent on the United States to claim of each, with equal rigour, the faithful observance of our rights, according to the well known law of nations. From each, therefore, a like co-operation is expected in the suppression of the piratical practice which has grown out of this war, and of blockades of extensive coasts on both seas, which, considering the small force employed to sustain them, have not the slightest foundation to rest on.

Europe is still unsettled, and although the war long menaced between Russia and Turkey has not broken out there is no certainty that the differences between those powers will be amicably adjusted. It is impossible to look to the oppressions of the country, respecting which those differences arose, without being deeply affected. The mention of Greece fills the mind with the most exalted sentiments; and arouses in our bosoms the best feelings of which our nature is susceptible.—Superior

skill and refinement in the arts, heroic gallantry in action, disinterested patriotism, enthusiastic zeal and devotion in favour of public and personal liberty, are associated with our recollections of ancient Greece. That such a country should have been overwhelmed, and so long hidden, as it were, from the world, under a gloomy despotism, has been a cause of unceasing and deep regret to generous minds for ages past. It was natural, therefore, that the re-appearance of those people in their original character, contending in favour of their liberties, should produce that great excitement and sympathy in their favour, which have been so signally displayed throughout the United States. A strong hope is entertained that these people will recover their independence, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth.

A great effort has been made in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people, and it must be very consoling to all benevolent minds, to see the extraordinary moderation with which it has been conducted. That it may promote the happiness of both nations, is the ardent wish of this whole people, to the expression of which, we confine ourselves; for, whatever may be the feelings or sentiments, which every individual under our government has a right to indulge and express, it is nevertheless a sacred maxim, equally with the government and people, that the destiny of every independent nation, in what relates to such improvements, of right belongs, and ought to be left, exclusively to themselves.

Whether we reason from the late wars, or from those menacing symptoms which now appear in Europe, it is manifest, that, if a convulsion should take place in any of those countries, it will proceed from causes which have

no existence, and are utterly unknown in these states, in which there is but one order, that of the people, to whom the sovereignty exclusively belongs. Should war break out in any of those countries, who can foretell the extent to which it may be carried or the desolation which it may spread? Exempt as we are from these causes, our internal tranquillity is secure; and, distant as we are from the troubled scene, and faithful to first principles, in regard to other powers, we might reasonably presume that we should not be molested by them. This, however, ought not to be calculated on, as certain. Unprovoked injuries are often inflicted, and even the peculiar felicity of our situation, might, with some, be a cause for excitement and aggression.

The history of the late wars in Europe, furnishes a complete demonstration that no system of conduct, however correct in principle, can protect neutral powers from injury, from any party; that a defenceless position, and distinguished love of peace, are the surest invitations to war; and that there is no way to avoid it, other than by being always prepared and willing, for just cause, to meet it. If there be a people on earth, whose more especial duty it is, to be at all times prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to surpass all others, in sustaining the necessary burthens, and in submitting to sacrifices, to make such preparations, it is undoubtedly the people of these states.

When we see that a civil war of the most frightful character rages from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; that strong symptoms of war appear in other parts, proceeding from causes, which, should it break out, may become general, and be of long duration; that the war still continues between Spain and the Independent Governments,

her late provinces, in this hemisphere, that it is likewise menaced between Portugal and Brazil, in consequence of the attempt of the latter to dismember itself from the former ; and that a system of piracy, of great extent, is maintained in the neighbouring seas, which will require equal vigilance and decision to suppress it, the reasons for sustaining the attitude which we now hold, and for pushing forward all our measures of defence with the utmost vigour, appear to me to acquire new force.

The United States owe to the world a great example and, by means thereof, to the cause of liberty and humanity, a generous support. They have so far succeeded to the satisfaction of the virtuous and enlightened of every country. There is no reason to doubt, that their whole movement will be regulated by a sacred regard to principle, all our institutions being founded on that basis. The ability to support our own cause, under any trial to which it may be exposed, is the great point on which the public solicitude rests. It has been often charged against free governments, that they have neither the foresight nor the virtue to provide at the proper season, for great emergencies ; that their course is improvident and expensive, that war will always find them unprepared, and whatever may be its calamities, that its terrible warnings will be disregarded and forgotten as soon as peace returns. I have full confidence that this charge, so far as relates to the United States, will be shewn to be utterly destitute of truth.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 2, 1823.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

MANY important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavour to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat, and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal, from a thorough conviction that there never was a period since the establishment of our revolution, when, regarding the condition of the civilized world, and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union, in our constituents.

Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. I do it, however, with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that, in this respect, I shall comply more fully with the sound principles of our government. The people being with us exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark, they must be incompetent to it. We are all liable to error, and those who are engaged in the management of public affairs, are more subject to excitement, and to be led astray by their particular in-

terests and passions, than the great body of our constituents, who, living at home, in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations, are calm but deeply interested spectators of events, and of the conduct of those who are parties to them. To the people, every department of the government, and every individual in each, are responsible, and the more full their information, the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued, and of the conduct of each in regard to it. From their dispassionate judgment, much aid may always be obtained, while their approbation will form the greatest incentive, and most gratifying reward for virtuous actions, and the dread of their censure the best security against the abuse of their confidence. Their interests, in all vital questions, are the same; and the bond by sentiment, as well as by interest, will be proportionably strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to.

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers, as respects our negotiations and transactions with each, is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it, that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement, connected with the national prosperity and public defence. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs, that we may avoid them.

The commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their opinions respecting that portion of the boundary between the territories of the United States and of Great Britain, the establishment of which had been submitted to them, have made their respective reports, in compliance with that article, that the same might be referred to the decision of a friendly power. It being manifest, however, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any power to perform that office without great delay and much inconvenience to itself, a proposal has been made by this government, and acceded to by that of Great Britain, to endeavour to establish that boundary by amicable negotiation. It appearing from long experience, that no satisfactory arrangement could be formed of the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies in this hemisphere, by legislative acts, while each party pursued its own course, without agreement or concert with the other, a proposal has been made to the British government to regulate this commerce by treaty, as it has been to arrange, in like manner, the just claim of the citizens of the United States, inhabiting the states and territories bordering on the lakes and rivers which empty into the St. Lawrence, to the navigation of that river to the ocean. For these and other objects of high importance to the interests of both parties, a negotiation has been opened with the British government, which, it is hoped, will have a satisfactory result.

The commissioners under the sixth and seventh articles of the treaty of Ghent, having successfully closed their labours in relation to the sixth, have proceeded to the discharge of those relating to the seventh. Their progress in the extensive survey required for the performance

of their duties, justifies the presumption that it will be completed in the ensuing year.

The negotiation which had been long depending with the French government on several important subjects, and particularly for a just indemnity for losses sustained in the late wars by the citizens of the United States, under unjustifiable seizures and confiscations of their property, has not, as yet had the desired effect. As this claim rests on the same principle with others which have been admitted by the French government, it is not perceived on what just ground it can be rejected. A minister will be immediately appointed to proceed to France, and resume the negotiation on this and other subjects which may arise between the two nations.

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial government, made through the minister of the Emperor, residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the north-west coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by his Imperial Majesty to the government of Great Britain which has likewise been acceded to. The government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condi-

tion which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Since the close of the last session of Congress, the commissioners and arbitrators for ascertaining and determining the amount of indemnification which may be due to citizens of the United States under the decision of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in conformity to the convention concluded at St. Petersburg, on the twelfth of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, have assembled in this city, and organized themselves as a board for the performance of the duties assigned to them by that treaty. The commission constituted under the eleventh article of the treaty of the twenty-second of February, eighteen hundred and nineteen, between the United States and Spain, is also in session here; and as the term of three years limited by the treaty, for the execution of the trust, will expire before the period of the next regular meeting of Congress the attention of the legislature will be drawn to the measures which may be necessary to accomplish the objects for which the commission was instituted.

In compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted at their last session, instructions have been given to all the ministers of the United States accredited to the powers of Europe and America, to propose the proscription of the African slave trade, by classing it under the denomination, and inflicting on its perpetrators the punishment of piracy. Should this proposal be acceded to, it is not doubted, that this odious and criminal practice will be promptly and entirely suppressed. It is earnestly hoped that it will be acceded

to, from the firm belief that it is the most effectual expedient that can be adopted for the purpose.

At the commencement of the recent war between France and Spain, it was declared by the French government that it would grant no commissions to privateers, and that neither the commerce of Spain herself nor of neutral nations, should be molested by the naval force of France, except in the breach of a lawful blockade. This declaration which appears to have been faithfully carried into effect, concurring with principles proclaimed and cherished by the United States, from the first establishment of their independence, suggested by the hope that the time had arrived when the proposal for adopting it as a permanent and invariable rule, in all future maritime wars, might meet the favourable consideration of the great European powers. Instructions have accordingly been given to our ministers with France, Russia, and Great Britain, to make those proposals to their respective governments; and when the friends of humanity reflect on the essential amelioration to the condition of the human race which would result from the abolition of private war on the sea, and on the great facility by which it might be accomplished, requiring only the consent of a few sovereigns, an earnest hope is indulged that these overtures will meet with an attention animated by the spirit in which they were made, and that they will ultimately be successful.

The ministers who were appointed to the republics of Colombia, and Buenos Ayres, during the last session of Congress, proceeded shortly afterwards to their destinations. Of their arrival there, official intelligence has not yet been received. The minister appointed to the republic of Chili, will sail in a few days. An early appointment

will also be made to Mexico. A minister has been received from Colombia, and the other governments have been informed that ministers, or diplomatic agents of inferior grade, would be received from each, accordingly as they might prefer the one or the other.

The minister appointed to Spain proceeded, soon after his appointment, for Cadiz, the residence of the Sovereign, to whom he was accredited. In approaching that port, the frigate which conveyed him was warned off by the commander of the French squadron, by which it was blockaded, and not permitted to enter, although apprized, by the captain of the frigate, of the public character of the person whom he had on board, the landing of whom was the sole object of his proposed entry. This act, being considered an infringement of the rights of ambassadors, and of nations, will form a just cause of complaint, to the government of France, against the officer by whom it was committed.

The actual condition of the public finances more than realizes the favourable anticipations that were entertained of it at the opening of the last session of Congress. On the first of January there was a balance in the treasury of four million two hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-seven dollars and fifty-five cents. From that time to the thirtieth of September, the receipts amounted to upwards of sixteen millions one hundred thousand dollars, and the expenditures to eleven millions four hundred thousand dollars. During the fourth quarter of the year, it is estimated, that the receipts will at least equal the expenditures, and that there will remain in the treasury on the first day of January next, a surplus of nearly nine millions of dollars.

On the first of January, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, a large amount of the war debt, and a part of the revolutionary debt, become redeemable. Additional portions of the former will continue to become redeemable, annually, until the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five. It is believed, however, that if the United States remain at peace, the whole of that debt may be redeemed by the ordinary revenue of those years during that period under the provision of the act of March third, eighteen hundred and seventeen, creating the sinking fund; and, in that case, the only part of the debt that will remain, after the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five, will be the seven millions of five per cent. stock subscribed to the Bank of the United States, and the three per cent. revolutionary debt, amounting to thirteen millions two hundred and ninety-six thousand and ninety-nine dollars and six cents, both of which are redeemable at the pleasure of the government.

The state of the army in its organization and discipline, has been gradually improving for several years, and has now attained a high degree of perfection. The military disbursements have been regularly made, and the accounts regularly and promptly rendered for settlement. The supplies, of various descriptions, have been of good quality, and regularly issued at all of the posts. A system of economy and accountability has been introduced into every branch of the service, which admits of little additional improvement. This desirable state has been attained by the act reorganizing the staff of the army, passed on the fourteenth of April, eighteen hundred and eighteen.

The monies appropriated for fortifications have been regularly and economically applied, and all the works

advanced as rapidly as the amount appropriated would admit. Three important works will be completed in the course of this year; that is, Fort Washington, Fort Delaware, and the Fort at the Rigolets in Louisiana.

The Board of Engineers, and the Topographical corps, have been in constant and active service in surveying the coast, and projecting the works necessary for its defence.

The Military academy has attained a degree of perfection in its discipline and instruction, equal, as is believed, to any institution of its kind in any country.

The money appropriated for the use of the ordnance department, has been regularly and economically applied. The fabrication of arms at the national armories, and by contract with the department, has been gradually improving in quality and cheapness. It is believed that their quality is now such as to admit of but little improvement.

The completion of the fortifications renders it necessary that there should be a suitable appropriation for the purpose of fabricating the cannon and carriages necessary for those works.

Under the appropriation of five thousand dollars for exploring the western waters for the location of a site for a western armory, a commission was constituted, consisting of colonel M'Ree, colonel Lee, and captain Talcott, who have been engaged in exploring the country. They have not yet reported the result of their labours, but it is believed that they will be prepared to do it, at an early part of the session of Congress.

During the month of June last, general Ashley and his party, who were trading under a license from the government, were attacked by the Ricarees while peaceably

trading with the Indians, at their request. Several of the party were killed and wounded and their property taken or destroyed.

Colonel Leavenworth, who commanded Fort Atkinson, at the Council Bluffs, the most western post, apprehending that the hostile spirit of the Ricarees would extend to other tribes in that quarter, and that thereby the lives of the traders on the Missouri, and the peace of the frontier, would be endangered, took immediate measures to check the evil.

With a detachment of the regiment stationed at the Bluffs, he successfully attacked the Ricaree village, and it is hoped that such an impression has been made on them, as well as on the other tribes of the Missouri, as will prevent a recurrence of future hostility.

The report of the Secretary of War, which is herewith transmitted, will exhibit, in greater detail, the condition of the department in its various branches, and the progress which has been made in its administration, during the three first quarters of the year.

I transmit a return of the militia of the several states according to the last reports which have been made, by the proper officers in each, to the department of War. By reference to this return it will be seen that it is not complete, although great exertions have been made to make it so.—As the defence, and even the liberties of the country, must depend, in times of imminent danger, on the militia, it is of the highest importance, that it be well organized, armed, and disciplined throughout the Union. The report of the Secretary of War shews the progress made during the three first quarters of the present year, by the application of the fund appropriated for arming the militia. Much difficulty is found in

distributing the arms according to the act of Congress providing for it, from the failure of the proper departments in many of the states to make regular returns. The act of May the twelfth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, provide that the system of tactics and regulations of the various corps of the regular army, should be extended to the militia. This act has been very imperfectly executed, from the want of uniformity in the organization of the militia, proceeding from the defects of the system itself, and especially in its application to that main arm of the public defence. It is thought that this important subject, in all its branches merits the attention of Congress.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy, which is now communicated, furnishes an account of the administration of that department, for the three first quarters of the present year, with the progress made in augmenting the navy, and the manner in which the vessels in commission have been employed.

The usual force has been maintained in the Mediterranean sea, the Pacific Ocean, and along the Atlantic Coast, and has afforded the necessary protection to our commerce in those seas.

In the West Indies and the Gulph of Mexico, our naval force has been augmented, by the addition of several small vessels, provided for by the "act authorizing an additional naval force for the suppression of piracy," passed by Congress at their last session. That armament has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies, by which our commerce in the neighbourhood of the island of Cuba had been afflicted, have been repressed, and the confidence of our merchants in a great measure restored.

The patriotic zeal and enterprize of commodore Porter, to whom the command of the expedition was confided, has been fully seconded by the officers and men under his command. And, in reflecting with high satisfaction on the honourable manner in which they have sustained the reputation of their country and the navy, the sentiment is alloyed only by a concern, that in the fulfilment of that arduous service, the diseases incident to the season, and to the climate in which it was discharged, have deprived the nation of many useful lives and among them of several officers of great promise.

In the month of August a very malignant fever made its appearance at Thompson's Island, which threatened the destruction of our station there.—Many perished; and the commanding officer was severely attacked. Uncertain as to his fate and knowing that most of the medical officers had been rendered incapable of discharging their duties, it was thought expedient to send to that post an officer of rank and experience, with several skilful surgeons, to ascertain the origin of the fever, and the probability of its recurrence there in future seasons; to furnish every assistance to those who were suffering; and if practicable, to avoid the necessity of abandoning so important a station.—Commodore Rodgers, with a promptitude which did him honour, cheerfully accepted that trust, and has discharged it in a manner anticipated from his skill and patriotism. Before his arrival, commodore Porter, with the greater part of the squadron, had removed from the island, and returned to the United States, in consequence of the prevailing sickness. Much useful information has, however, been obtained, as to the state of the island, and great relief afforded to those who had been necessarily left there.

Although our expedition, co-operating with an invigorating administration of the government of the island of Cuba, and with the corresponding active exertions of a British naval force in the same seas, have almost entirely destroyed the unlicensed piracies from that island, the success of our exertions has not been equally successful to suppress the same crime under other pretences and colours, in the neighbouring island of Porto Rico. They have been committed there under the abusive issue of Spanish commissions. At an early period of the present year, remonstrances were made to the governor of that island, by an agent who was sent for the purpose, against those outrages on the peaceful commerce of the United States, of which many had occurred. That officer, professing his own want of authority to make satisfaction for our just complaints, answered only by a reference of them to the government of Spain. The minister of the United States to that court was specially instructed to urge the necessity of the immediate and effectual interposition of that government, directing restitution, and indemnity for wrongs already committed, and interdicting the repetition of them. The minister, as has been seen, was debarred access to the Spanish government; and, in the mean time several new cases of flagrant outrage have occurred, and citizens of the United States in the island of Porto Rico have suffered, and others have been threatened with, assassination, for asserting their unquestionable rights, even before the lawful tribunals of the country.

The usual orders have been given to all our public ships, to seize American vessels engaged in the slave trade, and bring them in for adjudication, and I have the gratification to state, that not one so employed has been

discovered, and there is good reason to believe that our flag is now seldom, if at all, disgraced by that traffic.

It is a source of great satisfaction that we are always enabled to recur to the conduct of our navy with pride and commendation. As a means of national defence, it enjoys the public confidence and is steadily assuming additional importance. It is submitted whether a more efficient and equally economical organization of it, might not in several respects, be effected. It is supposed that higher grades than now exist by law would be useful. They would afford well merited rewards to those who have long and faithfully served their country; present the best incentives to good conduct, and the best means of insuring a proper discipline, destroy the inequality in that respect between military and naval services, and relieve our officers from many inconveniences and mortifications, which occur when our vessels meet those of other nations—ours being the only service in which such grades do not exist.

A report of the post-master-general, which accompanies this communication, will show the present state of the post-office department, and its general operations for some years past.

There is established by law, eighty-eight thousand six hundred miles of post-roads, on which the mail is now transported eighty five thousand seven hundred miles, and contracts have been made for its transportation on all the established routes, with one or two exceptions. There are five thousand two hundred and forty post-offices in the Union, and as many post-masters. The gross amount of postage which accrued from the first of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, to the first of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, was one

million one hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-five dollars, twelve cents. During the same period, the expenditures of the post-office department amounted to one million one hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars and fifty one cents; and consisted of the following items: compensation to post-masters, three hundred and fifty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-five dollars and ninety-eight cents.— incidental expenses, thirty thousand eight hundred and sixty-six dollars and thirty-seven cents; transportation of the mail, seven hundred and eighty-four thousand six hundred dollars and eight cents; payments into the treasury, four hundred and twenty three dollars and eight cents. On the first of July last, there was due to the department, from post-masters, one hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and forty-five dollars and twenty-eight cents; from late post-masters and contractors, two hundred and fifty-six thousand seven hundred and forty-nine dollars and thirty-one cents; making a total amount of balances due to the department, of three hundred and ninety-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-four dollars and fifty-nine cents, these balances embrace all delinquencies of post-masters and contractors, which have taken place since the organization of the department.—There was due by the department to the contractors on the first of July last, twenty-six thousand five hundred and forty-eight dollars and sixty-four cents.

The transportation of the mail, within five years past, has been greatly extended, and the expenditures of the department proportionably increased. Although the postage which has accrued within the last three years, has fallen short of the expenditures two hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dol-

lars and forty-six cents, it appears that collections have been made from the outstanding balances to meet the principal part of the current demands.

It is estimated that not more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the above balances can be collected, and that a considerable part of this sum can only be realized by a resort to legal process. Some improvement in the receipts for postage is expected. A prompt attention to the collection of monies received by post-masters, it is believed, will enable the department to continue its operations without aid from the treasury, unless the expenditure shall be increased by the establishment of new mail routes.

A revision of some parts of the post-office law may be necessary; and it is submitted, whether it would not be proper to provide for the appointment of post-masters, where the compensation exceeds a certain amount, by nomination to the Senate, as other officers of the general government are appointed.

Having communicated my views to Congress, at the commencement of the last session, respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principle on which it should be founded, I have only to add that those views remain unchanged, and that the present state of those countries with which we have the most immediate political relations, and greatest commercial intercourse, tends to confirm them.—Under this impression, I recommend a review of the tariff, for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the country.

The actual state of the public accounts furnishes additional evidence of the efficiency of the present system of

accountability in relation to the public expenditure. Of the moneys drawn from the treasury since the fourth of March, eighteen hundred and seventeen, the sum remaining unaccounted for on the thirtieth of September last, is more than a million and a half of dollars less than on the thirtieth of September preceding, and, during the same period, a reduction of nearly a million of dollars has been made in the amount of the unsettled accounts for moneys advanced previously to the fourth of March, eighteen hundred and seventeen. It will be obvious that, in proportion as the mass of accounts of the latter description is diminished, by settlement, the difficulty of settling the residue is increased, from the consideration that in many instances it can be obtained only by legal process. For more precise details on this subject, I refer to a report of the first comptroller of the treasury.

The sum which was appropriated at the last session, for the repairs of the Cumberland road, has been applied with good effect to that object. A final report has not yet been received from the agent who was appointed to superintend it. As soon as it is received, it shall be communicated to Congress.

Many patriotic and enlightened citizens, who have made the subject an object of particular investigation, have suggested an improvement of still greater importance. They are of opinion the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio may be connected together by one continued canal, and at an expense far short of the value and importance of the object to be obtained. If this could be accomplished, it is impossible to calculate the beneficial consequences which would result from it. A great portion of the produce of the very fertile country through which it would pass would find a market through that channel. Troops

might be moved with great facility in war, with cannon and every kind of munition, and in either direction. Connecting the Atlantic with the western country, in a line passing through the seat of the national government, it would contribute essentially to strengthen the bond of Union itself. Believing as I do, that Congress possess the right to appropriate money for such a national object, (the jurisdiction remaining to the states through which the canal would pass,) I submit it to your consideration whether it may not be advisable to authorize, by an adequate appropriation, the employment of a suitable number of the officers of the corps of engineers, to examine the unexplored ground, during the next season, and to report their opinion thereon. It will likewise be proper to extend their examination to the several routes through which the waters of the Ohio may be connected, by canals, with those of lake Erie.

As the Cumberland road will require annual repairs, and Congress have not thought it expedient to recommend to the states an amendment to the constitution, for the purpose of vesting in the United States a power to adopt and execute a system of internal improvement, it is also submitted to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient to authorize the Executive to enter into an arrangement with the several states through which the road passes, to establish tolls, each within its limits, for the purpose of defraying the expense of future repairs, and of providing also, by suitable penalties, for its protection against future injuries.

The act of Congress of 7th of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, appropriated the sum of twenty-two thousand seven hundred dollars for the purpose of erecting two piers as shelter for vessels from ice, near

Cape Henlopen, Delaware Bay. To effect the object of the act, the officers of the board of Engineers, with commodore Bainbridge, were directed to prepare plans and estimates of piers sufficient to answer the purpose intended by the act. It appears by their report which accompanies the documents from the War department, that the appropriation is not adequate to the purpose intended, and as the piers would be of great service, both to the navigation of the Delaware Bay, and the protection of vessels on the adjacent part of the coast, I submit for the consideration of Congress, whether additional and sufficient appropriations should not be made.

The board of Engineers were also directed to examine and survey the entrance of the harbour of the port of Presquise in Pennsylvania, in order to make an estimate of the expense of removing the obstructions to the entrance, with a plan of the best mode of effecting the same under the appropriation for that purpose, by act of Congress passed third of March last. The report of the board accompanies the papers from the War department, and is submitted for the consideration of Congress.

A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favour, yet none according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to

have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries; and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation.—It need scarcely be remarked, that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States, cherish sentiments the most friendly in favour of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have

enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it therefore to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced, than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principles satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United

States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system, to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our Union, with its actual state at the close of our revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement, in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation, which bears any resemblance to it.—At the first epoch our population did not exceed three millions. By the last census it amounted to about ten millions, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native, for the emigration from other

countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch, half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then, new territory has been acquired, of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original states. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new states have been established, almost equal, in number, to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population, and accession of new states to our Union, have had the happiest effects on all its highest interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources, and added to our strength and respectability, as a power, is admitted by all. But, it is not in these important circumstances only, that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that, by enlarging the basis of our system, and increasing the number of states, the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each government confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other; and, in consequence each enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted. It is unnecessary to treat, here, of the vast improvement made in the system itself, by the adoption of this constitution, and of its happy effect in elevating the character, and in protecting the rights of the nation, as well as of individuals. To what then do we owe these blessings? It is known to all, that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not then to adopt every measure, which may be necessary to perpetuate them.

JAMES MONROE.

MESSAGE

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DEC. 7, 1824.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives,

THE view which I have now to present to you of our affairs, foreign and domestic, realizes the most sanguine anticipations which have been entertained of the public prosperity. If we look to the whole, our growth, as a nation, continues to be rapid beyond example: if to the states, which compose it, the same gratifying spectacle is exhibited. Our expansion over the vast territory within our limits, has been great, without indicating any decline in those sections from which the emigration has been most conspicuous. We have daily gained strength, by a native population, in every quarter: a population devoted to our happy system of government, and cherishing the bond of union with fraternal affection. Experience has already shown, that the difference of climate, and of industry proceeding from that cause inseparable from such vast domains, and which, under other systems, might have a repulsive tendency, cannot fail to produce with us, under wise regulations, the opposite effect. What one portion wants the other may supply, and this will be most sensibly felt by the parts most distant from each other—forming thereby a domestic market, and an active intercourse between the extremes, and throughout every portion of our union. Thus, by a happy distribution of power between the National and State governments; governments which rest exclusively on the sovereignty of the people, and are fully adequate to the great purpose

for which they were respectively instituted, causes which might otherwise lead to dismemberment, operate powerfully to draw us closer together. In every other circumstance, a correct view of the actual state of our Union, must be equally gratifying to our constituents. Our relations with foreign powers, are of a friendly character, although certain interesting differences remain unsettled with some. Our revenue, under the mild system of impost and tonnage, continues to be adequate to all the purposes of the government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and navigation flourish. Our fortifications are advancing in the degree authorized by existing appropriations to maturity; and due progress is made in the augmentation of the navy, to the limit prescribed for it by law.—For these blessings we owe to Almighty God, from whom we derive them, and with profound reverence, our most grateful and unceasing acknowledgments.

In adverting to our relations with foreign powers, which are always an object of the highest importance, I have to remark that of the subjects which have been brought into discussion with them, during the present administration, some have been satisfactorily terminated; others have been suspended to be resumed hereafter, under circumstances more favourable to success; and others are still in negotiation, with the hope that they may be adjusted, with mutual accommodation to the interests and to the satisfaction, of the respective parties. It has been the invariable object of this government to cherish the most friendly relations with every power, and on principles and conditions which might make them permanent. A systematic effort has been made to place our commerce with each power, on a footing of perfect reciprocity; to settle with each, in a spirit of candour and liberality, all

existing differences, and to anticipate and remove, so far as it might be practicable, all causes of future variance.

It having been stipulated by the seventh article of the convention of navigation and commerce, which was concluded on the 24th of June, 1822; between the United States and France, that the said convention should continue in force for two years from the first of October of that year and for an indefinite term afterwards, unless one of the parties should declare its intention to renounce it, in which event it should cease to operate at the end of six months from such declaration; and no such intention having been announced, the convention having been found advantageous to both parties, it has since remained, and still remains in full force. At the time when that convention was concluded, many interesting subjects were left unsettled, and particularly our claims to indemnity for spoliations which were committed on our commerce in the late wars. For these interests and claims, it was in the contemplation of the parties to make provision at a subsequent day, by a more comprehensive and definitive treaty. The object has been duly attended to since, by the executive, but as yet it has not been accomplished. It is hoped that a favourable opportunity will present itself for opening a negotiation, which may embrace and arrange all existing differences, and every other concern in which they have common interest, upon the accession of the present king of France, an event which has occurred since the close of the last session of Congress.

With Great Britain, our commercial intercourse rests on the same footing that it did last session. By the convention of 1815, the commerce between the United States and the British dominions, in Europe, and the East Indies, was arranged on a principle of reciprocity. That

convention was confirmed, and continued in force, with slight exceptions, by a subsequent treaty, for the term of ten years, from the 20th of October 1818, the date of the latter. The trade with the British colonies in the West Indies, has not, as yet, been arranged by treaty, or otherwise to our satisfaction. An approach to that result has been made by legislative acts, whereby many serious impediments which had been raised by the parties in defence of their respective claims were removed. An earnest desire exists, and has been manifested, on the part of this government, to place the commerce with the colonies, likewise on a footing of reciprocal advantage: and it is hoped, that the British government, seeing the justice of the proposal, and its importance to the colonies, will, ere long, accede to it.

The commissioners who were appointed for the adjustment of the boundary, between the territories of the United States and those of Great Britain, specified in the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their decision; and both governments having agreed to establish that boundary, by amicable negotiation between them, it is hoped that it may be satisfactorily adjusted in that mode. The boundary specified by the sixth article, has been established, by decision of the commissioners. From the progress made in that provided for the seventh, according to a report recently received, there is good cause to presume that it will be settled in the course of the ensuing year.

It is a cause of serious regret, that no arrangement has yet been finally concluded between the two governments, to secure, by joint co-operation the suppression of the slave trade. It was the object of the British government, in the early stages of the negotiation, to adopt a

plan for the suppression, which should include the concession of the mutual right of search, by the ships of war of each party, of the vessels of the other, for suspected offenders. This was objected to by this government, on the principle, that as the right of search was a right of war, of a belligerent towards a neutral power, it might have an ill effect to extend it, by treaty, to an offence which had been made comparatively mild to a time of peace. Anxious, however, for the suppression of this trade, it was thought advisable, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, founded on an act of Congress, to propose to the British government an expedient, which should be free from that objection, and more effectual for the object, by making it piratical.

In that mode, the enormity of the crime would place the offenders out of the protection of their government, and involve no question of search, or other question between the parties, touching their respective rights. It was believed, also, that it would completely suppress the trade, in the vessels of both parties, and by their respective citizens and subjects in those of other powers, with whom it was hoped that the odium which would thereby be attached to it, would produce a corresponding arrangement, and by means thereof its entire extirpation forever. A convention to this effect was concluded and signed in London, on the thirteenth day of March, 1824, by plenipotentiaries duly authorized by both governments, to the ratification of which certain obstacles have arisen, which are not yet entirely removed. The differences between the parties still remaining, has been reduced to a point, not of sufficient magnitude, as is presumed, to be permitted to defeat an object so near to the heart of both nations, and so desirable to the friends

of humanity throughout the world. As objections, however, to the principle recommended by the House of Representatives, or at least to the consequences inseparable from it, and which are understood to apply to the law, have been raised, which may deserve a reconsideration of the whole subject, I have thought it proper to suspend the conclusion of a new convention until the definitive sentiments of Congress may be ascertained. The documents relating to the negotiation, are with that intent submitted to your consideration.

Our commerce with Sweden has been placed on a footing of perfect reciprocity, by treaty; and with Russia, the Netherlands, Prussia, the free Hanseatic cities, the dukedoms of Oldenburg and Sardinia, by internal regulations on each side, founded on mutual agreement, between the respective governments.

The principles upon which the commercial policy of the United States is founded are to be traced to an early period. They are essentially connected with those upon which their independence was declared, and owe their origin to the enlightened men who took the lead in our affairs at that important epoch. They are developed in their first treaty of commerce with France, of the 6th of February, 1778, and by a formal commission which was instituted immediately after the conclusion of their revolutionary struggle, for the purpose of negotiating treaties of commerce with every European power. The first treaty of the United States with Prussia, which was negotiated by that commission, affords a signal illustration of those principles. The act of Congress, of the 3d of March, 1815, adopted immediately after the return of a general peace, was a new overture to foreign nations to establish our commercial relations with them,

on the basis of free and equal reciprocity. That principle has pervaded all the acts of Congress, and all the negotiations of the Executive on the subject since.

A convention for the settlement of important questions in relation to the North West coast of this continent, and its adjoining seas, was concluded and signed at St. Peterburg, on the of last, by the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, and plenipotentiaries of the Imperial government of Russia. It will immediately be laid before the Senate, for the exercise of the constitutional authority of that body, with reference to its ratification. It is proper to add, that the manner in which this negotiation was invited and conducted, on the part of the Emperor, has been very satisfactory.

The great and extraordinary changes which have happened in the governments of Spain and Portugal, within the last two years, without seriously affecting the friendly relations which, under all of them, have been maintained with those powers, by the United States, have been obstacles to the adjustment of the particular subjects of discussion which have arisen with each. A resolution of the Senate, adopted at their last session, called for information as to the effect produced upon our relations with Spain, by the recognition, on the part of the United States, of the Independent South American governments. The papers containing that information are now communicated to Congress.

A charge d'affaires has been received from the independent government of Brazil. The country, heretofore a colonial possession of Portugal had some years since been proclaimed, by the sovereign of Portugal himself, an independent kingdom. Since his return to Lisbon, a revolution in Brazil has established a new

government there, with an impartial title, at the head of which is placed the Prince in whom the regency had been vested by the King, at the time of his departure. There is reason, to expect, that by amicable negotiation the independence of Brazil will ere long, be recognized by Portugal herself.

With the remaining powers of Europe, with those on the coast of Barbary, and with all the new South American States, our relations are of a friendly character. We have ministers Plenipotentiary residing with the republics of Colombia and Chili, and have received ministers of the same rank, from Colombia, Guatemala, Buenos Ayres and Mexico. Our commercial relations, with all those states, are mutually beneficial and increasing. With the republic of Colombia, a treaty of commerce has been formed, of which a copy is received, and the original daily expected: A negotiation for a like treaty, would have been commenced with Buenos Ayres had it not been prevented by the indisposition and lamented decease of Mr. Rodney, our minister there, and to whose memory the most respectful attention has been shown, by the government of that republic. An advantageous alteration in our treaty with Tunis, has been obtained by our consular agent residing there, the official document of which, when received, will be laid before the senate.

The attention of the government has been drawn with great solicitude to other subjects, and particularly to that relating to a state of maritime war, involving the relative rights of neutral and belligerent in such wars. Most of the difficulties which we have experienced and of the losses which we have sustained since the establishment of our independence, have proceeded from the

unsettled state of those rights, and the extent to which the belligerent claim has been carried against the neutral party. It is impossible to look back on the occurrences of the late wars in Europe, and to behold the disregard which was paid to our rights as a neutral power, and the waste which was made of our commerce by the parties to those wars, by various acts of their respective governments, and under the pretext by each that the other had set the example, without, great mortification, and a fixed purpose never to submit to the like in future. An attempt to remove those causes of possible variance, by friendly negotiation, and on just principles, which should be applicable to all parties, could, it was presumed, be viewed by none, other than as a proof of an earnest desire to preserve those relations with every power. In the late war between France and Spain, a crisis occurred in which it seemed probable that all the controvertible principles, involved in such wars, might be brought into discussion, and settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Propositions having this object in view have been made to the governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and of other powers, which have been received in a friendly manner by all, but as yet no treaty has been formed with either for its accomplishment. The policy will, it is presumed, be persevered in, in the hope that it may be successful.

It will always be recollected, that with one of the parties to those wars, and from whom we received those injuries, we sought redress by war. From the other, with whose then reigning government our vessels were seized in port, as well as at sea, and their cargoes confiscated, indemnity has been expected, but has not yet been rendered. It was under the influence of the latter

that our vessels were likewise seized by the governments of Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Naples, and from whom indemnity has been claimed, and is still expected, with the exception of Spain, who has rendered it. With the parties we had abundant cause of war, but we had no alternative but to resist that which was most powerful at sea, and pressed us nearest at home. With this all differences were settled by a treaty founded on conditions fair and honourable to both, and which has been so far executed with perfect good faith. It has been earnestly hoped, that the other would, of its own accord and from a sentiment of justice and conciliation, make to our citizens the indemnity to which they are entitled, and thereby remove, from our relations, any just cause of discontent on our side.

It is estimated that the receipts into the treasury during the current year, exclusive of loans, will exceed eighteen millions five hundred thousand dollars, which with the sum remaining in the treasury at the end of the last year, amounting to nine millions four hundred and sixty-three thousand nine hundred twenty-two dollars and eighty one cents, will after discharging the current disbursements of the year, the interest on the public debt, and upwards of eleven million six hundred thirty-three thousand eleven dollars and fifty-two cents of the principal, leave a balance of more than three million dollars in the treasury on the first day of January next.

A larger amount of the debt contracted during the late war, bearing an interest of six per cent. becoming redeemable in the course of the ensuing year, than would be discharged by the ordinary revenue, the act of 26th of May, authorized a loan of five millions of dollars, at four and a half per cent. to meet the same. By this

arrangement, an annual saving will accrue to the public of seventy-five thousand dollars.

Under the act of the 24th May last, a loan of five millions of dollars, was authorized, in order to meet the awards under the Florida treaty, which was negotiated at par with the Bank of the United States, at four and a half per cent. the limit of interest fixed by the act. By this provision, the claims of our citizens, who had sustained so great a loss by spoliations, and from whom indemnity had been so long withheld, were promptly paid. For these advances, the public will be amply repaid, at no distant day, by the sale of the lands in Florida. Of the great advantages resulting from the acquisition of the territory, in other respects, too high an estimate cannot be formed.

It is estimated that the receipts into the treasury during the year 1825, will be sufficient to meet the disbursements of the year, including the sum of ten millions of dollars, which is annually appropriated by the act constituting the sinking fund, for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt.

The whole amount of the public debt, on the first day of January next, may be estimated at eighty-six millions of dollars, inclusive of two millions five hundred thousand dollars of the loan authorized by the act of 25th May last. In this estimate is included a stock of seven millions of dollars, issued for the purchase of that amount of the capital stock of the Bank of the United States, and which, as the stock of the Bank still held by the government, will at least be fully equal to its reimbursement, ought not to be considered as constituting a part of the public debt. Estimating: then the whole amount of the public debt at seventy-nine millions

of dollars, and regarding the annual receipts and expenditures of the government, a well founded hope may be entertained; that, should no unexpected event occur, the whole of the public debt may be discharged in the course of ten years, and the government be left at liberty afterwards to apply such portion of the revenue, as may not be necessary for current expenses, to such other objects as may be most conducive to the public security and welfare. That the sums applicable to these objects will be very considerable, may be fairly concluded, when it is recollected that a large amount of the public revenue has been applied, since the late war, to the construction of the public buildings in this city, to the erection of fortifications along the coast and of arsenals in different parts of the Union; the augmentation of the navy; to the extinguishment of the Indian title to large tracts of fertile territory; to the acquisition of Florida; to pensions to revolutionary officers and soldiers; and to invalids of the late war. On many of these objects, the expense will actually be diminished, and at no distant period cease on most of all. On the first day of January 1817, the public debt amounted to one hundred and twenty-three millions four hundred and ninety-one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five dollars and sixteen cents, and notwithstanding the large sums which have been applied to these objects, it has been reduced, since then thirty-seven millions four hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-one dollars and seventy-eight-cents. The last of the public debt will be redeemable on the first of January 1835, and while there is the best reason to believe that the resources of the government will be continually adequate to such portion of it as may become due, in the interval, it is recommended

to Congress to seize every opportunity which may present itself, to reduce the rate of interest upon every part thereof. The high state of the public credit, and the great abundance of money, are at this time very favourable to such a result. It must be very gratifying to our fellow-citizens, to witness this flourishing state of the public finances, when it is recollected that no burden whatever has been imposed upon them.

The military establishment, in all its branches, in the performance of the various duties assigned to each, justifies the favourable view which was presented of the efficiency of its organization, at the last session. All the appropriations have been regularly applied to the objects intended by Congress; and, so far as the disbursements have been made, the accounts have been rendered and settled, without loss to the public. The condition of the army itself, as relates to the officers and men, in science and discipline, is highly respectable. The Military Academy, on which the army essentially rests, and to which it is much indebted for this state of improvement, has attained, in comparison with any other institution of a like kind, a high degree of perfection. Experience, however, has shown, that the dispersed condition of the corps of Artillery is unfavourable to the discipline of that important branch of the military establishment. To remedy this inconvenience, eleven companies have been assembled at the fortifications erected at Old Point Comfort; as a school for artillery instruction, with intention, as they shall be perfected in the various duties of that service, to order them to other posts, and to supply their places with other companies, for instruction in like manner. In this mode, a complete knowledge of the science and duties of this arm will be extended throughout the

whole corps of artillery. But, to carry this object fully into effect, will require the aid of Congress; to obtain which, the subject is now submitted to your consideration.

Of the progress which has been made in the construction of fortifications for the permanent defence of our maritime frontier, according to the plan decided on, and to the extent of the existing appropriations, the report of the Secretary of War, which is herewith communicated, will give a detailed account. Their final completion cannot fail to give great additional security to that frontier, and to diminish proportionably the expense of defending it in the event of war.

The provisions in the several acts of Congress of the last session, for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio, of the harbour of Presqueisle on Lake Erie, and the repair of the Plymouth Beach, are in a course of regular execution; and there is reason to believe that the appropriation in each instance will be adequate to the object. To carry these improvements fully into effect, the superintendence of them has been assigned to officers of the corps of engineers.

Under the act of the 30th April last authorizing the president to cause a survey to be made with the necessary plans and estimates of such roads and canals, as he might deem of national importance, in a commercial or military point of view, or for the transportation of the mail, a board has been instituted, consisting of two distinguished officers of the corps of engineers and a distinguished civil engineer, with assistants, who have been actively employed in carrying into effect the objects of the act. They have carefully examined between the Potomac and the Ohio rivers; between the latter and Lake Erie; between

the Alleghany and the Susquehanna; and the routes between the Delaware and the Raritan, Barnstable, and Buzzards's bay; and between Boston harbour and Narraganset bay. Such portion of the corps of topographical engineers as could be spared from the survey of the coast, has been employed in surveying the very important route between the Potomac and the Ohio. Considerable progress has been made in it, but the survey cannot be completed until the next season. It is gratifying to add, from the view already taken, that there is good cause to believe that this great national object may be fully accomplished.

It is contemplated to commence early in the next season the execution of the other branch of the act, that which relates to roads, and with the survey of a route from this city through the southern states, to New Orleans, the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated. All the officers of both the corps of Engineers, who could be spared from other services have been employed in exploring and surveying the routes for canals. To digest a plan for both objects for the greater purposes specified, will require a thorough knowledge of every part of our Union, and of the relation of each part to the other, and of all to the seat of the general government. For such a digest, it will be necessary that the information be full, minute, and precise. With a view to these important objects, I submit to the consideration of Congress, the propriety of enlarging both the corps of Engineers, the military and topographical. It need scarcely be remarked, that the more extensively these corps are engaged in the improvement of their country, in the execution of the powers of Congress, and in aid of the states in such improvements as lie beyond that limit, when such

aid is desired, the happier the effect will be, in many views, of which the subject is susceptible. By profiting of their science, the works will always be well executed: and by giving to the officers such employment, our Union will derive all the advantage, in peace, as well as in war, from their talents and services, which they can afford. In this mode also, the military will be incorporated with the civil, and unfounded and injurious distinctions and prejudices of every kind be done away. To the corps themselves, this service cannot fail to be equally useful—since by the knowledge they would thus acquire, they would be eminently better qualified, in the event of war, for the great purposes for which they were instituted.

Our relations with the Indian tribes, within our limits have not been materially changed during the year, the hostile disposition evinced by certain tribes, on the Missouri, during the last year, still continues, and has extended, in some degree, to those on the upper Mississippi and the upper lakes. Several parties of our citizens have been plundered and murdered, by those tribes. In order to establish relations of friendship with them, Congress at the last session made an appropriation for treaties with them, and for the employment of a suitable military escort to accompany and attend the commissioners at the places appointed for the negotiations. This object has not been effected. The season was too far advanced when the appropriation was made, and the distance too great to permit, but measures have been taken, and all the preparations will be completed, to accomplish it at an early period in the next season.

Believing that the hostility of the tribes, particularly on the upper Mississippi and the lakes, is, in no small degree, owing to the war which is carried on between

the tribes residing in that quarter, measures have been taken to bring about a general peace among them, which, if successful, will not only tend to the security of our citizens, but be of great advantage to the Indians themselves. With the exception of the tribes referred to, our relations with all the others are on the most friendly footing; and it affords me great satisfaction to add, that they are making steady advances in civilization, and the improvement of their condition. Many of the tribes have already made great progress in the arts of civilized life. This desirable result has been brought about by the humane and persevering policy of the government, and particularly by means of the appropriation for the civilization of the Indians.—There have been established, under the provisions of this act, thirty-two schools, containing nine hundred and sixteen scholars, who are well instructed in several branches of literature, and likewise in agriculture and the ordinary arts of life.

Under the appropriation to authorize treaties with the Creek and Quapaw Indians, commissioners have been appointed, and negotiations are now pending, but the result is not yet known.

For more full information, respecting the principle which has been adopted for carrying into effect the act of Congress authorizing surveys, with plans and estimates for canals and roads, and on every other branch of duty incident to the department of war. I refer you to the report of the secretary.

The squadron in the Mediterranean has been maintained in the extent which was proposed in the report of the Secretary of the Navy of the last year, and has afforded to our commerce the necessary protection in that sea. Apprehending, however, that the unfriendly relations

which have existed between Algiers and some of the powers of Europe, might be extended to us, it has been thought expedient to augment the force there, and, in consequence, the "North Carolina," a ship of the line, has been prepared and will sail in a few days, to join it.

The force employed in the gulph of Mexico, and in the neighbouring seas, for the suppression of piracy, has likewise been preserved essentially in the state in which it was during the last year. A persevering effort has been made for the accomplishment of that object, and much protection has thereby been afforded to our commerce, but still the practice is far from being suppressed. From every view which has been taken of the subject, it is thought that it will be necessary rather to augment than to diminish our force in that quarter. There is reason to believe that the piracies now complained of, are committed by bands of robbers who inhabit the land, and who, by preserving good intelligence with the towns, and seizing favourable opportunities, rush forth and fall on unprotected merchant vessels, of which they make an easy prey. The pillage thus taken, they carry to their lurking places and dispose of afterwards at prices tending to seduce the neighbouring population. This combination is understood to be of great extent, and is the more to be deprecated because the crime of piracy is often attended with the murder of the crews, these robbers knowing, if any survived, their lurking places would be exposed, and they be caught and punished. That this atrocious practice should be carried to such an extent, is cause of equal surprise and regret. It is presumed that it must be attributed to the relaxed and feeble state of the local governments, since it is not doubted, from the high character of the governor of Cuba, who is well known and much re-

spected here, that if he had the power he would promptly suppress it. Whether these robbers should be pursued on the land, the local authorities be made responsible for these atrocities, or any other measure be resorted to to suppress them, is submitted to the consideration of Congress.

In execution of the laws for the suppression of the slave trade, a vessel has been occasionally sent from that squadron to the coast of Africa, with orders to return thence by the usual track of the slave ships, and to seize any of our vessels which might be engaged in that trade. None have been found, and it is believed, that none are thus employed. It is well known, however, that the trade still exists under other flags.

The health of our squadron while at Thompson's Island, has been much better during the present than it was the last season. Some improvements have been made, and others are contemplated there, which, it is believed, will have a very salutary effect.

On the Pacific our commerce has much increased; and on that coast, as well as on that sea, the United States have many important interests, which require attention and protection. It is thought that all the considerations which suggested the expediency of placing a squadron on that sea, operate with augmented force, for maintaining it there, at least, on equal extent.

For detailed information respecting the state of our maritime force on each sea, the improvement necessary to be made in either, in the organization of the naval establishment generally, and of the laws for its better government, I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Navy which is herewith communicated.

The revenue of the post-office department has received

a considerable augmentation in the present year. The current receipts will exceed the expenditures, although the transportation of the mail within the year has been much increased. A report of the post-master general, which is transmitted, will furnish, in detail, the necessary information respecting the administration and present state of this department.

In conformity with a resolution of Congress, of the last session, an invitation was given to general La Fayette to re-visit the United States, with an assurance that a ship of war should attend at any port of France which he might designate to receive and convey him across the Atlantic, whenever it might be convenient to sail. He declined the offer of the public ship, from motives of delicacy, but assured me that he had long intended and would certainly visit our Union in the course of the present year. In August last he arrived at New York, where he was received with the warmth of affection and gratitude to which his very important and disinterested services and sacrifices in our revolutionary struggle, so eminently entitled him. A corresponding sentiment has since been manifested in his favour throughout every portion of our Union, and affectionate invitations have been given him to extend his visit to them. To these he has yielded all the accommodation in his power. At every designated point of rendezvous, the whole population of the neighbouring country has been assembled to greet him; among whom it has excited in a peculiar manner the sensibility of all, to behold the surviving members of our revolutionary contest, civil and military, who had shared with him in the toils and dangers of the war, many of them in a decrepit state. A more interesting spectacle, it is believed, was never witnessed, because none

could be founded on purer principles, none proceed from higher or more disinterested motives. That the feelings of those who had fought and bled with him, in a common cause, should have been much excited, was natural. There are, however, circumstances attending these interviews, which pervaded the whole community, and touched the breasts of every age, even the youngest among us. There was not an individual present who had not some relative who had partaken in those scenes, nor an infant who had not heard the relation of them. But the circumstance which was most sensibly felt, and which his presence brought forcibly to the recollection of all, was the great cause in which we were engaged, and the blessings which we have derived from our success in it. The struggle was for independence and liberty, public and personal, and in this we succeeded. The meeting with one who had borne so distinguished a part in that great struggle, and from such lofty and disinterested motives, could not fail to affect profoundly every individual, and of every age. It is natural that we should all take a deep interest in his future welfare, as we do. His high claims on our Union are felt, and the sentiment universal that they should be met in a generous spirit. Under these impressions, I invite your attention to the subject with a view, that, regarding his very important services, losses and sacrifices, a provision may be made and tendered to him, which shall correspond with the sentiments, and be worthy the character of the American people.

In turning our attention to the condition of the civilized world, in which the United States have always taken a deep interest, it is gratifying to see how large a portion of it is blessed with peace. The only wars which now exist within that limit, are those between Turkey

and Greece, in Europe, and between Spain and the new governments, our neighbours, in this hemisphere. In both these wars, the cause of independence, of liberty and humanity, continues to prevail. The success of Greece, when the relative population of the contending parties, is considered, commands our admiration and applause, and that it has had a similar effect with the neighbouring powers, is obvious. The feeling of the whole civilized world is excited, in a high degree in their favour. May we not hope that these sentiments, winning on the hearts of their respective governments, may lead to a more decisive result, that they may produce an accord among them, to replace Greece on the ground which she formerly held, and to which her heroic exertions, at this day, so eminently entitle her.

With respect to the contest to which our neighbours are a party, it is evident that Spain as a power is scarcely felt in it. These new states had completely achieved their independence, before it was acknowledged by the United States, and they have since maintained it with little pressure. The disturbances which have appeared in certain portions of that vast territory have proceeded from internal causes, which had their origin in their governments and have not yet been thoroughly removed. It is manifest that these causes are daily losing their effect, and that these new states are settling down under governments elective and representative in every branch, similar to our own. In this course we ardently wish them to persevere, under a firm conviction that it will promote their happiness.

In this, their career, however, we have not interfered, believing that every people has a right to institute for themselves the government which, in their judgment, may

suit them best. Our example is before them, of the good effect of which, being our neighbours, they are competent judges, and to their judgment we leave it, in the expectation that other powers will pursue the same policy. The deep interest which we take in their independence, which we have acknowledged, and in their enjoyment of all the rights incident thereto, especially in the very important one of instituting their own governments, has been declared, and is known to the world. Separated, as we are, from Europe by the great Atlantic Ocean, we can have no concern in the wars of the European governments, nor in the causes which produce them. The balance of power between them, into which ever scale it may turn, in its various vibrations, cannot affect us. It is the interest of the United States to preserve the most friendly relations with every power, and on conditions fair, equal, and applicable to all. But in regard to our neighbours our situation is different. It is impossible for the European governments to interfere in their concerns, especially in those alluded to which are vital, without affecting us; indeed, the motive which might induce such interference in the present state of the war between the parties, if a war it may be called, would appear to be equally applicable to us. It is gratifying to know that some of the powers with whom we enjoy a very friendly intercourse, and to whom these views have been communicated, have appeared to acquiesce in them.

The augmentation of our population, with the expansion of our Union, and increased number of States, have produced effects in certain branches of our system which merit the attention of Congress. Some of our arrangements, and particularly the judiciary establishment, were made with a view to the original thirteen

states only. Since then the United States have acquired a vast extent of territory, eleven new states have been admitted into our Union, and territories have been laid off for three others, which will likewise be admitted at no distant day. An organization of the Supreme Court, which assigns to the judges any portion of the duties which belong to the inferior, requiring their passage over so vast a space, under any distribution of the states that may now be made, if not impracticable in the execution, must render it impossible for them to discharge the duties of either branch with advantage to the Union. The duties of the Supreme Court would be of great importance, if its decisions were confined to the ordinary limits of other tribunals; but when it is considered that this Court decides, and in the last resort, on all the great questions which arise under our constitution, involving those between the United States, individually, between the states and the United States, and between the latter and foreign powers, too high an estimate of their importance cannot be formed. The great interests of the nation seem to require that the Judges of the Supreme Court should be exempted from every other duty than those which are incident to that high trust. The organization of the inferior Courts would, of course, be adapted to circumstances. It is presumed that such a one might be formed as would secure an able and faithful discharge of their duties, and without any material augmentation of expense.

The condition of the aborigines within our limits, and especially those who are within the limits of any of the states, merits likewise particular attention. Experience has shown that, unless the tribes be civilized, they can never be incorporated into our system, in any

form whatever. It has likewise shown, that in the regular augmentation of our population, with the extension of our settlements, their situation will become deplorable, if their extinction is not menaced. Some well-digested plan, which will rescue them from such calamities, is due to their rights, to the rights of humanity, and to the honour of the nation. Their civilization is indispensable to their safety, and this can be accomplished only by degrees. The process must commence with the infant state, through whom some effect may be wrought on the parental. Difficulties of the most serious character present themselves to the attainment of this very desirable result, on the territory on which they now reside. To remove them from it by force, even with a view to their own security and happiness, would be revolting to humanity, and utterly unjustifiable. Between the limits of our present states and territories, and the rocky mountain and Mexico, there is a vast territory to which they might be invited, with inducements which might be successful. It is thought, if that territory should be divided into districts, by previous agreement with the tribes now residing there, and civil governments be established in each, with schools for every branch of instruction in literature, and in the arts of civilized life, that all the tribes now within our limits might gradually be drawn there. The execution of this plan would necessarily be attended with expense, and that not inconsiderable, but it is doubted whether any other can be devised which would be less liable to that objection, or more likely to succeed.

In looking to the interests in which the United States have on the Pacific ocean, on the western coast of this continent, the propriety of establishing a military post

at the mouth of Columbia river, or at some other point in that quarter, within our acknowledged limits, is submitted to the consideration of Congress. Our commerce and fisheries on that sea and along the coast have much increased, and are increasing. It is thought that a military post, to which our ships of war might resort, would afford protection to every interest, and have a tendency to conciliate the tribes to the north-west, with whom our trade is extensive. It is thought also, that by the establishment of such a post, the intercourse between our western states and territories and the Pacific, and our trade with the tribes residing in the interior, on each side of the rocky mountain, would be essentially promoted. To carry this object into effect, the appropriation of an adequate sum to authorize the employment of a frigate, with an officer of the corps of Engineers to explore the mouth of the Columbia river, and the coast contiguous thereto, to enable the executive to make such establishment at the most suitable point, is recommended to Congress.

It is thought that attention is also due to the improvement of this city. The communication between the public buildings, and in various other parts and the grounds around those buildings, require it. It is presumed, also, that the completion of the Canal from the Tiber to the Eastern Branch, would have a very salutary effect.—Great exertions have been made, and expenses incurred, by the citizens, in improvements of various kinds; but those which are suggested belong exclusively to the government, or are of a nature to require expenditures beyond their resources. The public lots which are still for sale, would, it is not doubted, be more than adequate to these purposes.

From the view above presented, it is manifest that the situation of the United States, is in the highest degree prosperous and happy. There is no object which, as a people, we can desire, which we do not possess, or which is not within our reach. Blessed with governments the happiest which the world ever knew, with no distinct orders in society, or divided interests in any portion of the vast territory over which their dominion extends, we have every motive to cling together which can animate a virtuous and enlightened people. The great object is to preserve those blessings, and to hand them down to our latest posterity. Our experience ought to satisfy us that our progress, under the most correct and provident policy, will not be exempt from danger. Our institutions form an important epoch in the history of the civilized world. On their preservation, and in their utmost purity, every thing will depend. Extending, as our interests do, to every part of the inhabited globe, and to every sea, to which our citizens are carried by their industry and enterprise, to which they are invited by the wants of others and have a right to go, we must either protect them, in the enjoyment of their rights or abandon them, in certain events, to waste and desolation. Our attitude is highly interesting, as relates to other powers, and particularly to our southern neighbours. We have duties to perform, with respect to all, to which we must be faithful. To every kind of danger, we should pay the most vigilant and unceasing attention; remove the cause where it may be practicable, and be prepared to meet it when inevitable.

Against foreign danger the policy of the government seems to be already settled. The events of the late war admonished us to make our maritime frontier impregna-

ble, by a well digested chain of fortifications, and to give efficient protection to our commerce by augmenting our navy to a certain extent, which has been steadily pursued, and which is incumbent upon us to complete as soon as circumstances will permit. In the event of war, it is on the maritime frontier that we shall be assailed. It is in that quarter, therefore, that we should be prepared to meet the attack. It is there that our whole force will be called into action to prevent the destruction of our towns, and the desolation and pillage of the interior. To give full effect to this policy, great improvements will be indispensable. Access to those works by every practicable communication, should be made easy, and in every direction. The intercourse also between every part of our Union, should be promoted and facilitated by the exercise of those powers which may comport with a faithful regard to the great principles of our constitution. With respect to internal causes, those great principles point out, with equal certainty, the policy to be pursued. Resting on the people, as our governments do, state and national, with well defined powers, it is of the highest importance that they severally keep within the limits prescribed to them.

Fulfilling that sacred duty, it is of equal importance that the movement between them be harmonious ; and, in case of any disagreement, should such ever occur, a calm appeal be made to the people, and that their voice be heard, and promptly obeyed. But governments being instituted for the common good, we cannot fail to prosper, while those who made them are attentive to the conduct of their representatives, and control their measures. In the pursuit of these great objects,

let a generous spirit, and national views and feelings be indulged, and let every part recollect, that, by cherishing that spirit, and improving the condition of the others in what relates to their welfare, the general interest will not only be promoted, but the local advantages be reciprocated by all.

I cannot conclude this communication, the last of the kind which I shall have to make, without recollecting with great sensibility and heartfelt gratitude, the many instances of the public confidence, and the generous support, which I have received from my fellow-citizens in the various trusts with which I have been honoured. Having commenced my service in early youth, and continued it since, with few and short intervals, I have witnessed the great difficulties to which our Union has been exposed, and admired the virtue and courage with which they were surmounted. From the present prosperous and happy state, I derive a gratification which I cannot express. That these blessings may be preserved and perpetuated, will be the object of my fervent and unceasing prayers to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

JAMES MONROE.

PRESIDENT J. Q. ADAMS'

Inaugural Address,

FOURTH OF MARCH, 1825.

IN compliance with an usage coeval with the existence of our Federal Constitution, and sanctioned by the example of my predecessors in the career upon which I am about to enter, I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence, and in that of Heaven, to bind myself by the solemnity of religious obligation, to the faithful performance of the duties allotted to me in the station to which I have been called.

In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed, in the fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will be to that constitution, which I shall swear, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect and defend. That revered instrument enumerates the powers, and prescribes the duties of the Executive Magistrate; and, in its first words, declares the purposes to which, and the action of the government, instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted:—to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this Union, in their successive generations.—Since the adoption of this social compact, one of these generations has passed away. It is the work of our forefathers. Administered by some of its most eminent men who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental to the condition of associated man, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and

nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all ; it has, to an extent, far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labours, to transmit the same, unimpaired, to the succeeding generation.

In the compass of thirty-six years since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws, enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies. Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign affairs, to the revenue and expenditures, and to the military force of the Union, by land and sea. A co-ordinate department of the Judiciary has expounded the constitution and the laws ; settling, in harmonious coincidence with the legislative will, numerous weighty questions of construction, which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of jubilee, since the first formation of our Union, has just elapsed ; that of the declaration of our independence, is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution.

Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve ; a territory bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea ; new states have been admitted to the Union, in numbers equal to those of the first confederation ; treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth ; the people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by

compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings; the forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean; the dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists; liberty and law have marched hand in hand; all the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively, as under any other government on the globe; and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditure of other nations in a single year.

Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say that it is still the condition of men upon earth. From evil, physical, moral, and political, it is not our claim to be exempt. We have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of Heaven, through disease; often, by the wrongs and injustice of other nations, even to the extremities of war; and lastly, by dissensions among ourselves—dissensions, perhaps, inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom, but which have, more than once, appeared to threaten the dissolution of the Union, and, with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various: found upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican government; upon conflicting views of policy, in our relations with foreign nations; upon jealousies of partial and sectional interests, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions which strangers to each other are ever apt to entertain.

It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to me, to observe that the great result of this experiment, upon the theory of human rights, has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success, equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty—all have been promoted by the government under which we have lived. Standing at this point of time; looking back to that generation which has gone by, and forward to that which is advancing, we may, at once, indulge in grateful exultation, and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices, to the formation and administration of this government; and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre.

This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years, during which, the policy of the Union in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this bane-

ful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth, in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to the public sentiment, or legislative debate. Our political creed is without a dissenting voice that can be heard. That the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end, of all legitimate government upon earth—That the best security for the beneficence and the best guarantee against the abuse of power, consists in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections—That the general government of the Union, and the separate governments of the states, are all sovereignties of limited powers; fellow-servants of the same masters; uncontrolled within their respective spheres; uncontrollable by encroachments upon each other—That the firmest security of peace is the preparation, during peace, of the defences of war—That a rigorous economy and accountability of public expenditures, should guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, when possible, the burden of taxation—That the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power—That the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate—That the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation union, are articles of faith upon which we are all now agreed. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, those doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected on the ruins of the Union, they have been scattered to the winds—If

there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancour against each other; of embracing, as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who wore the badge of party communion.

The collisions of party spirit, which originated in speculative opinions, or in different views of administrative policy, are, in their nature, transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life, are more permanent, and therefore perhaps more dangerous. It is this which gives inestimable value to the character of our government, at once federal and national. It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike, and with equal anxiety, the rights of each individual state in its own government, and the rights of the whole nation in that of the Union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the Union, or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the state governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity, or of foreign powers, is of the resort of this general government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the

rights of the state governments, is the inviolable duty of that of the Union ; the government of every state will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The prejudices, every where too commonly entertained against distant strangers, are worn away, and the jealousies of jarring interests are allayed by the composition and functions of the great national councils, annually assembled from all quarters of the Union at this place. Here the distinguished men from every section of our country, while meeting to deliberate upon the great interests of those by whom they are deputed, learn to estimate the talents, and do justice to the virtues of each other. The harmony of the nation is promoted, and the whole Union is knit together, by the sentiments of mutual respect, the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of personal friendship, formed between the representatives of its several parts, in the performance of their service at this metropolis.

Passing from this general review of the purpose and injunctions of the federal constitution and their results, as indicating the first traces of the path of duty in the discharge of my public trust, I turn to the administration of my immediate predecessor, as the second. It has passed away in a period of profound peace ; how much to the satisfaction of our country, and to the honour of our country's name, is known to you all. The great features of its policy, in general concurrence with the will of the legislature, have been—to cherish peace, while preparing for defensive war ; to yield exact justice to other nations, and maintain the rights of our own ; to cherish the principles of freedom and of equal rights, wherever they were proclaimed ; to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt ; to reduce, within the narrowest limits of efficiency, the military force ;

to improve the organization and discipline of the army ; to provide and sustain a school of military science ; to extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation ; to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes ; and to proceed in the great system of internal improvements, within the limits of the constitutional power of the Union. Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen, at the time of his first induction into this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed ; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged ; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the revolution ; the regular armed force has been reduced and its constitution revised and perfected ; the accountability for the expenditure of public moneys has been made more effective ; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific ocean ; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognized and recommended by example and by counsel, to the potentates of Europe ; progress has been made in the defence of the country, by fortifications, and the increase of the navy towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves ; in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind ; in exploring the interior regions of the Union ; and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.

In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my immediate predecessor, the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly delineated. To pursue, to their consummation, those purposes of improvement in our common condition, instituted or recommended by him

will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. To the topic of internal improvement, emphatically urged by him at his inauguration, I recur with peculiar satisfaction. It is that from which I am convinced that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are, in future ages, to people this continent, will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of the Union; that, in which the beneficent action of its government will be most deeply felt and acknowledged. The magnificence and splendor of their public works are among the imperishable glories of the ancient republics. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages, and have survived thousands of years, after all her conquests have been swallowed up in despotism, or become the spoil of barbarians. Some diversity of opinion has prevailed with regard to the powers of Congress for legislation upon objects of this nature. The most respectful deferences is due to doubts, originating in pure patriotism, and sustained by venerated authority. But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what single individual has it ever proved an injury? Repeated liberal and candid discussions in the legislature have conciliated the sentiments, and proximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope, that by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation, all constitutional objections will ultimately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the general government, in relation to this transcendently important interest, will be settled and acknowledged,

to the common satisfaction of all, and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.

Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you, at this time. You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfilment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand, more and oftener, in need of your indulgence. Intentions, upright and pure; a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of all the faculties allotted to me, to her service, are all the pledges that I can give, for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. To the guidance of the legislative councils; to the assistance of the executive and subordinate departments; to the friendly co-operation of the respective state governments; to the candid and liberal support of the people, so far as it may be deserved by honest industry and zeal, I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service: and knowing, that, except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain; with fervent supplications for his favour, to his over-ruling Providence I commit, with humble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

FINIS.



JUL 2 1914

MAR 14 1918

